





**Library of The Theological Seminary**

PRINCETON • NEW JERSEY




PRESENTED BY

Samuel Agnew, Esq.  
March 25, 1858

BT 111 .F3 1832 v.2  
Faber, George Stanley, 1773-  
1854.

The apostolicity of  
Trinitarianism



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2022 with funding from  
Princeton Theological Seminary Library





THE  
APOSTOLICITY  
OF  
TRINITARIANISM:

OR, THE  
TESTIMONY OF HISTORY,  
TO THE  
POSITIVE ANTIQUITY, AND TO THE APOSTOLICAL INCULCATION,  
OF THE  
DOCTRINE  
OF THE  
HOLY TRINITY.

---

BY  
GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D.

MASTER OF SHERBURN HOSPITAL, DURHAM, AND PREBENDARY OF SALISBURY.

---

Opto, cum Melancthone et Ecclesia Anglicana, per canalem Antiquitatis deduci ad nos dogmata fidei e fonte Sacrae Scripturae derivata. Alioquin, quis futurus est novandi finis?—CASAUB. *Epist.* 774.

---

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

---

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,  
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,  
AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

---

1832.

LONDON:  
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,  
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.



CONTENTS.

PROPERTY OF  
PRINCETON

THEOLOGICAL  
SEMINARY.

---

BOOK II.

NOTICES OF OBJECTIONS TO THE TESTIMONY SUPPOSED TO BE BORNE BY HISTORY TO THE FACT OF THE POSITIVE ANTIQUITY AND THE APOSTOLICAL INCULCATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY. p. 1.

---

CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF OBJECTIONS TO THE TESTIMONY SUPPOSED TO BE BORNE BY HISTORY TO THE APOSTOLIC ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY. p. 3.

A work, which professes to exhibit faithfully the testimony of History to the apostolic antiquity and sanction of the doctrine of the Trinity, would be defective, if it pretermitted antitrinitarian objections made on the very basis of History itself. p. 3.

I. Statement of objections of this description. p. 3.

1. First objection. p. 4.
2. Second objection. p. 4.
3. Third objection. p. 4.
4. Fourth objection. p. 4.
5. Fifth objection. p. 6.
6. Sixth objection. p. 6.
7. Seventh objection. p. 6.
8. Eighth objection. p. 7.

- II. With *abstract* objections to the doctrine of the Trinity, the present Work, from the very nature of its argument, has no concern. p. 8.

---

## CHAPTER II.

RESPECTING CERTAIN PASSAGES IN ATHANASIUS AND ORIGEN AND TERTULLIAN, WHICH HAVE BEEN ADDUCED AS ESTABLISHING THE FACT OF THE HUMANITARIAN ANTITRINITARIANISM OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS. p. 13.

After the adduction of such a mass of evidence, it may well seem strange, that, down even to a comparatively late period, a vast majority of acknowledged Catholics should, uninterruptedly from the very beginning, have been strenuous Antitrinitarians who rejected with abhorrence the doctrine of Christ's divinity. p. 13.

- I. Yet such is the fact, which Dr. Priestley has undertaken to establish on the basis of historical testimony. p. 13.
- II. Hence an examination of the documents, on which he would establish his alleged fact, is plainly rendered necessary. p. 14.
- III. The three authors, whom he adduces in support of his fact, shall be considered, agreeably to the plan of the present Work, in chronologically retrogressive order : Athanasius ; Origen ; Tertullian. p. 16.

---

## CHAPTER III.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY OF ATHANASIUS. p. 18.

The testimony of Athanasius as given by Dr. Priestley. p. 18.

- I. Athanasius attests no such fact, as that which he has been adduced to establish. p. 19.
  1. The doctrine of Paul of Samosata he pronounces to be *an innovation*. p. 22.



2. Notices respecting the phraseology of Athanasius.  
p. 23.
- (1.) Notice of the true import of a verb employed by him. p. 23.
- (2.) Notice of an important phrase employed by him.  
p. 24.
- II. The Antitrinitarians, in the time of Athanasius, whatever might have been their number, were declared *apostates* from their original faith in the Holy Trinity.  
p. 26.
- III. Dr. Priestley seems to have been aware, that this obvious answer would be given to his pretended testimony: hence, in defiance of the very evidence afforded by his own freely selected author Athanasius, he would intimate, that the antitrinitarian teachers of that period did not *make* men converts to Unipersonalism, but that they *found* them Unipersonalists *already*. p. 28.
- IV. It may be doubted, whether the multitude, in the days of Athanasius, can be conceded to Dr. Priestley.  
p. 29.
1. The prevalent aberration from the faith, in the days of Athanasius, was not *Samosatenian Humanitarianism*, but the speculation denominated *Arianism*.  
p. 30.
2. Real import of the expression *the many*, as used by Athanasius. p. 30.

---

#### CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY OF ORIGEN. p. 32.

The testimony of Origen is as little to the purpose as that of Athanasius. p. 32.

- I. Origen's supposed testimony is discovered in three several concurring passages. p. 32.

1. The first passage. p. 33.
  2. The second passage. p. 34.
  3. The third passage. p. 35.
- II. These three passages are adduced to prove, that, *In the time of Origen, the gentile Christians were generally Unitarians, who rejected with abhorrence the doctrine of our Lord's divinity.* p. 35.
- III. The import of the three passages has been totally misunderstood. p. 37.
1. Primitive discipline of the Ecclesiastical Mysteries. p. 40.
  2. To the mechanism of this discipline the three passages most undoubtedly refer. p. 43.
    - (1.) Examination of the first passage. p. 43.
    - (2.) Joint examination of the second and third passages. p. 49.
  3. The real testimony of Origen is precisely the reverse of that, which has been rashly ascribed to him by writers of the modern Antitrinitarian School. p. 54.

---

## CHAPTER V.

### RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY OF TERTULLIAN. p. 58.

The testimony of Tertullian, with the three propositions deduced from it by Dr. Priestley and other writers of the modern Antitrinitarian School. p. 58.

- I. The first proposition is: that *The majority of believers, within the pale of the Catholic Church and in actual allowed communion with the Catholic Church, were, in the days of Tertullian, zealous Antitrinitarians.* p. 64.
  1. No such assertion is made in any part of the alleged testimony of Tertullian. p. 65.
  2. Throughout his writings, his unvarying declaration is, that the worship of the second person of the



Trinity was universally prevalent in every country where the Gospel was planted. p. 69.

II. The second proposition is: that *The overwhelming majority of catholic Antitrinitarians utterly abhorred the doctrine of Christ's divinity, contending, like the modern Antitrinitarians, for the doctrine of his mere humanity.* p. 72.

1. This second proposition is not more true than the first. p. 72.

2. The Antitrinitarians, censured by Tertullian, instead of asserting the mere humanity of Christ, maintained his exclusive unipersonal divinity. p. 74.

3. Proof of this assertion. p. 80.

(1.) From the immediate context of the alleged testimony itself. p. 82.

(2.) From other passages in the course of the Treatise which contains the alleged testimony. p. 85.

(3.) From the attestation of the ancient Supplementer to Tertullian's Tractate against Heretics. p. 87.

4. The doctrinal difference between the ancient Catholics and the patripassian Antitrinitarians. p. 87.

III. The third proposition is: that *The antitrinitarian system of the illiterates, censured by Tertullian, was in truth the faith of the Catholic Church from the very beginning; while the doctrine of Tertullian himself was a mere speculative innovation, which confessedly met with small acceptance among the honest and simple-minded majority.* p. 89.

1. This third proposition stands directly opposed to the whole avowed purport of the testimony itself. p. 89.

2. The testimony, instead of being favourable to the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism, is decidedly hostile to it. p. 93.

- (1.) Statement of the ground of this assertion.  
p. 95.
- (2.) Similar reasoning of Novatian. p. 96.

---

## CHAPTER VI.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGED INTRODUCTION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY BY JUSTIN MARTYR, AND HIS CONSEQUENT SUPPOSED TIMID COURTESY TO THE PRIMITIVE ANTITRINITARIANS. p. 100.

Five several propositions may be deduced from the language of Dr. Priestley relative to the alleged conduct of Justin Martyr. p. 107.

I. According to Dr. Priestley, *When the novel doctrines of Christ's præexistence and divinity were first introduced by Justin Martyr, they met with much opposition: for most of his contemporaries held the bare humanity of our Lord. Hence his language has all the air of an apology: and it seems evidently to proceed from a man, who was not very confident of his opinion, and who was aware that he had not the sanction of the majority.* p. 110.

1. This notion is built upon a gross mistranslation and perversion of a passage in the Dialogue with Trypho. p. 110.
2. The true translation and sense of the passage. p. 113.
3. The declaration of Justin is exactly the *reverse* of that, which Dr. Priestley has put into his mouth. p. 114.
4. With the pretended proof vanishes the pretended apology. p. 117.

II. Dr. Priestley further learns, from the phraseology of Justin, that, *In his time, Antitrinitarians, who denied*



*the godhead of Christ, were very far from being reckoned heretics; though, afterward, they were pronounced to be such by Irenæus: a circumstance, which at once accounts for Justin's extraordinary civility to his humanitarian contemporaries, and evinces the conscious unpopular innovator.* p. 120.

1. The times of Justin and the times of Irenæus were *the same*: because, though Irenæus was the survivor of Justin, Justin and Irenæus were *contemporaries*. p. 120.
2. Therefore, since Irenæus confessedly declares the humanitarian Ebionites to be heretics, they must thence have been esteemed heretics in the days of Justin; though, in speaking of them, Justin himself may not have employed that precise appellation. p. 124.

III. If, however, we may credit Dr. Priestley, *Justin speaks of his opinion as a doubtful one, and by no means propounds it as a necessary article of Christian Faith. Hence, distrusting the soundness of that hitherto unheard of novelty which he wished to introduce, and conscious that he had not the sanction of the majority along with him, he carefully provided a decent retreat for himself, in case his new speculation should be found untenable.* p. 127.

1. The passage, on which Dr. Priestley builds this notion, is merely a specimen of that very common mode of reasoning, the *argumentum ad hominem*. p. 128.
2. Immediately after the enunciation of the passage in question, Justin goes on to declare, that *the majority of believers agreed in doctrine with himself.* p. 130.
3. Conclusion from Justin's argument. p. 130.
4. Erroneous deduction of Dr. Priestley. p. 131.

IV. According to Dr. Priestley, *Justin and his associates borrowed their idea of the new tenet from Plato and Philo.* p. 132.

1. Justin's own account of his conversion to Christianity. p. 133.
2. Evidence offered by Dr. Priestley. p. 135.
3. Origination of the name and doctrine of the Logos. p. 141.
  - (1.) Philo's account. p. 141.
  - (2.) Justin's account. p. 143.
4. Confession of Dr. Priestley, respecting the Works of Plato. p. 146.

V. According to Dr. Priestley, *Justin was the first or one of the first, who introduced the doctrine of the Logos into the Christian System.* p. 147.

1. This allegation is directly contradicted: both by the tone and language of Trypho; and likewise by Justin's own explicit declaration, that, instead of *introducing* the doctrine *into* the Church, he really *found it in* the Church. p. 149.
  - (1.) First proof from the writings of Justin. p. 151.
  - (2.) Second proof. p. 152.
  - (3.) Third proof. p. 154.
2. Dr. Priestley is finally obliged to confess, that the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity run up to such high antiquity, that he is unable positively to specify either *the precise time when* or *the particular persons by whom* they were originally introduced into the Church. p. 158.
  - (1.) This acknowledged circumstance is fatal to his cause. p. 159.
  - (2.) Singular gratuitous assertion of Dr. Priestley. p. 162.



## CHAPTER VII.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT THE NEW TESTAMENT FURNISHES NO INSTANCE OF THE DIVINE ADORATION OF CHRIST. p. 164.

As Dr. Priestley asserts the strict Humanitarianism of the primitive Church: so, consistently, he denies, that the New Testament furnishes any instance of the divine adoration of Christ. p. 164.

- I. Proof, to the contrary, from the familiar descriptive title borne by the earliest believers: *They that call upon the name of Jesus Christ.* p. 167.
  1. The rendering of this title, proposed by modern Antitrinitarians, is irreconcilable with scriptural chronology. p. 169.
  2. It is likewise irreconcilable with the well ascertained apostolic use of the phrase. p. 172.
    - (1.) First proof. p. 172.
    - (2.) Second proof. p. 176.
    - (3.) Third proof. p. 177.
    - (4.) Summary of proofs and conclusion. p. 180.
  3. It is furthermore irreconcilable with the received interpretation of the early Church. p. 182.
    - (1.) Tertullian. p. 182.
    - (2.) Novatian. p. 183.
    - (3.) Cyprian. p. 183.
    - (4.) Jerome. p. 184.
  4. It stands, therefore, on no surer ground, than the mere unauthorised *dictum* of a modern School of Theology. p. 184.
- II. Proof to the contrary, from the recorded action of Stephen in the agonies of martyrdom. p. 185.
  1. Ineffectual gloss of Dr. Priestley. p. 187.
  2. Ineffectual solution of Mr. Lindsey and the Editor of the New Testament in an Improved Version. p. 190.

- (1.) Solution of Mr. Lindsey on the principle of  
VISIBILITY. p. 190.
  - (2.) Solution of the Editor with an improvement  
upon that of Mr. Lindsey. p. 191.
  - (3.) Their solutions rest on an unsubstantiated fact.  
p. 194.
- III. Proof to the contrary, from the self-recorded actions of  
the two Apostles Paul and John. p. 195.
- 1. Action of St. Paul. p. 195.
  - 2. Action of St. John. p. 198.

---

## CHAPTER VIII.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGED OBLIGATION OF THE EARLY FATHERS  
TO THE GENTILE PHILOSOPHERS IN REGARD TO THE DOCTRINES  
OF THE TRINITY AND THE LOGOS. p. 202.

The Fathers, who are chiefly said to have been indebted to the  
gentile philosophers for the doctrines of the Trinity and the  
Logos, are Justin, Irenèus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and  
Clement of Alexandria. p. 202.

- I. Had those ancient ecclesiastics borrowed from the gen-  
tile philosophers, they could not have spoken of them  
in the language of contempt. p. 203.
  - 1. Exemplification from the language of Justin. p. 203.
  - 2. Exemplification from the language of Tertullian.  
p. 205.
- II. Those early ecclesiastics describe the philosophy of the  
Gentiles, as the fruitful parent of every heresy.  
p. 208.
  - 1. Such is the language of Irenèus. p. 208.
  - 2. Such also are the declarations of Tertullian. p. 209.
- III. Whatever was good in the philosophy of the Gentiles,  
is alleged by those early ecclesiastics to have been  
stolen or borrowed from Moses and the prophets.  
p. 211.



1. Such was the theory of Justin. p. 211.
  2. Such also was the theory of Clement of Alexandria.  
p. 216.
- IV. The Trinity of Plato. p. 217.

---

## CHAPTER IX.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT THE TRINITY OF THE EARLY FATHERS DIFFERED ESSENTIALLY FROM THE TRINITY OF THE MODERN CATHOLIC CHURCH. p. 225.

It is alleged by modern Antitrinitarians, that the Trinity of the early Fathers differed essentially from the Trinity of the modern Catholic Church: for, though the Son's *equality* with the Father be the present accredited orthodoxy, the original introducers of Trinitarianism stoutly maintained the Son's decided *inferiority*. Of the alleged difference, in short, the full and complete statement is this. According to Dr. Priestley and others of the same School, *The Trinity of the early Fathers was very different from the Trinity of the modern Catholic Church. For the Trinity of the former consisted of three UNEQUAL persons, among whom the Father is SUPREME: while the Trinity of the latter consists of three EQUAL persons, among whom the Father is NOT SUPREME.* p. 225.

- I. A statement and examination of the *real* doctrine held by the old Ecclesiastical Writers. p. 231.
  1. Evolution of their doctrine in separate propositions. p. 231.
    - (1.) First proposition. p. 231.
    - (2.) Second proposition. p. 231.
    - (3.) Third proposition. p. 233.
  2. Remarks on the propositions. p. 234.
    - (1.) Remarks on the first proposition. p. 234.
    - (2.) Remarks on the second proposition. p. 235.
    - (3.) Remarks on the third proposition. p. 236.
  3. Summary. p. 237.

4. Citations illustrative of the primitive view of the inequality subsisting between the three persons of the Trinity. p. 239.
    - (1.) Inequality, from substantial emanation and orderly gradation. p. 239.
    - (2.) Inequality, from the hypostatical union of God and man in one Christ. p. 242.
    - (3.) Inequality, from the spontaneous economical acceptance and discharge of office. p. 243.
  5. Remarks on the language of Cyprian, Novatian, and Origen. p. 247.
    - (1.) First remark. p. 247.
    - (2.) Second remark. p. 247.
    - (3.) Third remark. p. 248.
- II. Erroneous deductions of modern Antitrinitarians from the writings of the ancient ecclesiastics. p. 249.
1. The ancient Catholic Church and the modern Catholic Church perfectly symbolise in their doctrinal views respecting the Trinity. p. 250.
  2. Statement of the doctrine of the Trinity, as propounded by some of the ablest and most accredited of the modern Catholics. p. 251.
    - (1.) Bishop Pearson. p. 251.
    - (2.) Dr. Waterland. p. 254.
    - (3.) Bishop Bull. p. 255.
  3. The doctrine of these modern divines has been the doctrine of the Catholic Church in all ages. p. 256.
- III. Allegation of Dr. Priestley, that the early Christian Writers style the Father GOD contradistinctively from the Son, and that they sometimes call the Father THE ONLY TRUE GOD exclusively of the Son. p. 257.
1. Remarks on the allegation. p. 257.
    - (1.) Remarks on the first proposition in the allegation. p. 258.



- (2.) Remarks on the second proposition in the allegation. p. 262.
2. Summary respecting the allegation. p. 268.

---

CHAPTER X.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT THE ANTENICENE FATHERS, IN THE COURSE OF ONLY A GRADUAL CORRUPTION, DID NOT ASCRIBE PROPER DIVINITY TO THE SON. p. 271.

Dr. Priestley and Mr. Lindsey assert, that *None of the antenicene Fathers acknowledged the proper divinity of Christ.* p. 271.

I. The error of their assertion demonstrated, from the circumstance, that the antenicene Fathers believed Christ to be Jehovah, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. p. 273.

1. Such was the recorded faith of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Novatian, Hippolytus, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and Dionysius of Alexandria. Such also was the avowed doctrine of the entire primitive Catholic Church, as we learn from one of her ancient symbols. p. 274.

2. It will be observed, that the question before us is not, whether such an opinion be *abstractedly* well or ill founded, but whether *in point of fact* it was entertained by the antenicene Fathers. p. 279.

II. The error of their assertion demonstrated, from the doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY, held by the Antenicenes as well as by the Postnicenes. p. 280.

1. Proof from their own writings, both that the word CONSUBSTANTIAL was used, and that the doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY was held, by the Antenicenes. p. 282.

2. Proof from their standing mode of illustrating the doctrine. p. 288.
    - (1.) Physical illustrations of the doctrine, as uniformly employed by the successive Fathers, Justin, Athenagoras, Theognostus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Lactantius. p. 288.
    - (2.) Necessary result of such illustrations. p. 291.
    - (3.) Intention of such illustrations expressly declared by Origen. p. 292.
    - (4.) Adoption of the most prominent of these illustrations, itself avowedly borrowed from St. Paul, by the Fathers of the first Nicene Council, for the specific purpose of setting forth the doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY. p. 293.
    - (5.) Such illustrations, while they set forth the doctrine of the Son's CONSUBSTANTIALITY, additionally propound also the doctrine of his ETERNITY. p. 294.
  3. The doctrinal system of the Antenicenes and the Postnicenes was one and the same. p. 296.
- III. Conclusion and general result of the whole inquiry. p. 296.



## APPENDIX II.

---

### NUMBER I.

RESPECTING THE APPROPRIATION OF THE ECTHESIS, PRODUCED IN THE YEAR 431 BY THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS AGAINST NESTORIUS, TO THE COUNCIL OF ANTIOCH WHICH SAT IN THE YEAR 269. p. 301.

---

### NUMBER II.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGED ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS, THAT JOHN WAS THE FIRST WHO CLEARLY AND BOLDLY TAUGHT THE DOCTRINES OF THE PRE-EXISTENCE AND DIVINITY OF CHRIST. p. 308.

---

### NUMBER III.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT ORIGEN DOUBTED WHETHER THE HOLY SPIRIT WAS NOT A CREATURE, AND THAT HE ALTOGETHER REJECTED THE RELIGIOUS ADORATION OF THE SON. p. 326.

---

### NUMBER IV.

RESPECTING THE OPINION ENTERTAINED BY THE JEWS CONCERNING THE MESSIAH AT THE TIME OF OUR LORD'S FIRST ADVENT. p. 334.

#### SECTION I.

The cause and plan of the Inquiry. p. 334.

## SECTION II.

Evidence from John vii. 26, 27. p. 338.

## SECTION III.

Evidence from the jewish estimation of a claim of the Messiahship. p. 342.

## SECTION IV.

Evidence from Justin Martyr and Maimonides. p. 351.

## SECTION V.

Evidence from the fluctuating conduct of our Lord's disciples.  
p. 362.

## SECTION VI.

Summary and conclusion. p. 367.

---

 NUMBER V.

RESPECTING THE TRUE IMPORT OF THE PASSAGE CONTAINED IN  
HEB. i. 1, 2. p. 370.

---

 NUMBER VI.

RESPECTING THE ANTITRINITARIAN VIEW OF THE PASSAGES IN  
SCRIPTURE, WHICH ARE THOUGHT TO PROPOUND THE DOC-  
TRINES OF SATISFACTION AND PIACULAR SACRIFICE. p. 379.

## SECTION I.

The doctrine of satisfaction. p. 379.

## SECTION II.

The doctrine of Piacular Sacrifice. p. 398.

NUMBER VII.

RESPECTING THE TEXT CONTAINED IN HEB. i. 3. p. 415.

---

NUMBER VIII.

RESPECTING THE PRIMITIVE DOCTRINE OF THE THREEFOLD GENERATION OF THE WORD OF GOD. p. 422.

---

NUMBER IX.

RESPECTING TERTULLIAN'S EXPRESSION, THAT MAN WAS ANIMATED FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF GOD. p. 431.

---

NUMBER X.

RESPECTING THE ASCRIPTION OF THE TITLE OF THE SON OF GOD, BEING, IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, THE SAME AS THE ASCRIPTION OF ESSENTIAL DIVINITY. p. 433.





## ERRATA.

### VOL. II.

- Page 59, line 10, note, erase the period after "*hæresim*"  
— 59, — 11, note, insert a period after "*constituat*"  
— 112, — 3, for the "colon" substitute a "period"  
— 237, — 27, for "had" read "has"





## BOOK II.

NOTICES OF OBJECTIONS TO THE TESTIMONY SUPPOSED TO  
BE BORNE BY HISTORY TO THE FACT OF THE POSITIVE  
ANTIQUITY AND THE APOSTOLICAL INCULCATION OF  
THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

---

Καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι· ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς  
παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. Iren. adv. Hær. lib. i. c. 3. p. 39.

---

Ἐφύτευσαν ὡτίον αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς. Dionys.  
Alex. adv. Paul. Samos. quæst. iv. Oper. p. 227.

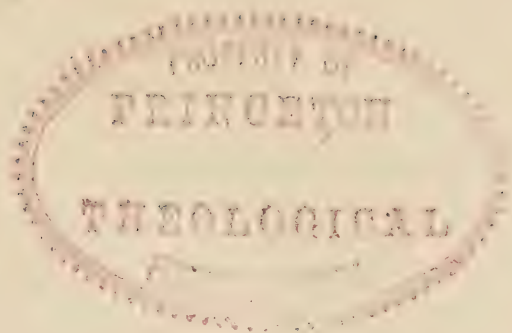
---

Οὐδὲν ἐμοί, ἔφη, μέλει Πλάτωνος, οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρου, οὐδὲ ἀπλῶς οὐδε-  
νὸς ὅλως τοιαῦτα δοξάζοντός.—Διαλογιζόμενός τε πρὸς ἐμαντὸν τοῦς  
λόγους αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μόνην εὔρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφο-  
ρον. Οὕτως δὲ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φιλόσοφος ἐγώ. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.  
Oper. p. 172, 173, 174.

---

Hæreticorum patriarchæ philosophi. Tertull. adv. Hermog. § 4. Oper.  
p. 339.





## CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF OBJECTIONS TO THE TESTIMONY SUPPOSED TO BE BORNE BY HISTORY TO THE APOSTOLIC ANTIQUITY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

---

A Work, which professes faithfully to exhibit the testimony borne by History to the apostolic antiquity and the apostolic sanction of the doctrine of the Trinity, would be incomplete, were it to leave unnoticed the objections of those, who, on the very basis of History itself, profess to deny the apostolic antiquity and the apostolic sanction of that doctrine.

In order, therefore, that nothing, so far as my own knowledge extends, may be kept back from the honest and diligent inquirer, I shall proceed to state and examine the several objections which respect the important FACT at present under discussion.

I. The objections, alleged by Dr. Priestley and those who symbolise with him in his theological system, may be conveniently stated and arranged in manner following.



1. Had Trinitarianism been the doctrine of the Catholic Church from the very beginning, all the various individuals, who were in professed communion with the Catholic Church, must obviously have been Trinitarians.

Yet, even so late as the middle of the fourth century, we find Athanasius complaining, that the lower classes of Christians were for the most part Unitarians.

2. A complaint of a similar nature had previously been made by Origen about the middle of the third century.

Hence it is evident, that the great majority of believers, even in communion with the Catholic Church herself, formed an uninterrupted succession of Unitarians, from the middle of the third century, down to the middle of the fourth.

3. But these simple-minded and honest Christians did not first spring up in the time of Origen. On the contrary, we find precisely the same language employed by Tertullian, who flourished at the end of the second and at the beginning of the third century.

He admits, while he complains, that the greater part of believers in his days abhorred the doctrine of the Trinity : and he states, that, on genuine unitarian principles, they rejected the divinity of the Son, and that they stoutly contended for the exclusive divinity of the Father.

4. As the great body of Christians, within the

pale of the Catholic Church, from the time of Tertullian down even to the time of Athanasius, were thus zealous Unitarians : so, agreeably to our natural anticipation from the striking fact that *The early Christians were generally Antitrinitarians who denied the godhead of the mere man Jesus of Nazareth*, Justin Martyr, by whom and others of the similarly philosophising Fathers the primitive unitarian faith was grievously corrupted through a gradual introduction of the doctrine of the Trinity, adopts a very singular tone of gentleness and complaisance toward that vast majority from whose more simple and more ancient creed he had most unhappily been led to deviate.

This remarkable circumstance distinctly shews the conscious innovator : for it exhibits the precise line of conduct, which would be followed by a person, who knew that he was starting a previously unheard of doctrine, and who was fully aware that the great mass of believers held and had always held opinions of a totally different description.

The conduct, therefore, of the yet earlier Justin exactly tallies with the angry testimony to the vast prevalence of Antitrinitarianism even within the pale of the Catholic Church, so reluctantly borne by Tertullian and Origen and Athanasius. Justin meekly insinuates his own novel speculations : and he ventures not, like later theologians, to style those, who rejected them, *heretics*.

5. Accordingly, if we chronologically advance still higher than Justin, and if we advert to the testimony of the apostolical writers themselves, we shall find, in the volume of the New Testament, no traces of any worship of Christ either as enjoined or as practised.

This circumstance, on the trinitarian scheme, is utterly unaccountable : but, with *the direct evidence in favour of the early Christians having been* (as Dr. Priestley speaks) *generally Unitarians*, it beautifully and exactly and harmoniously tallies.

6. Such, then, being the faith of the great mass of primitive believers down even to the time of Athanasius, while the novel doctrines of the Trinity and Christ's godhead were gradually introduced by certain of the philosophising Fathers : we are naturally led to ask, whence it was that the Fathers *themselves* received those doctrines ?

To this question a very easy reply is afforded.

The Fathers, most undoubtedly, borrowed the doctrines in question from the pagan school of the Platonists : and, what at first was only their own peculiar cabbala, gradually insinuating itself into Christianity, thus became at length the popular no less than the philosophical belief.

7. Yet the Trinity, as first introduced and received, long differed widely from the Trinity of more modern Christianity.

For, though *the Son's equality with the Father* be the present accredited orthodoxy, the original



introducers and favourers of Trinitarianism stoutly maintained *the Son's decided inferiority*.

Such a circumstance, by the very fact of cumulative discrepance, clearly marks the progress of corruption. And, at the same time, it perfectly harmonises with the direct evidence of Athanasius and Origen and Tertullian: that *The bulk of the more simple believers, even in their days successively, that is to say, from the latter end of the second century to the middle of the fourth, were still, uninterruptedly, determined and uncompromising Unitarians.*

8. Agreeably to these several statements, the early Fathers, that is to say, the Fathers who flourished before the first Nicene Council, never ascribe proper divinity to the Son. But, whenever they depart from the primitive doctrine of the mere manhood of Christ, they exhibit him, not as being truly God, but only as possessing that sort of secondary created divinity which characterised the system afterward known by the name of *Arianism*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A greater than either Dr. Priestley or Mr. Lindsey, the very learned Jesuit Dionysius Petavius, had already, long before their time, advanced pretty nearly the same opinion as that which is here last enumerated in § 1. 8.

He asserted, that the antenicene writers symbolised, at least in a great measure, with Arius: for, though they acknowledged the Son to be of the substance or nature of the Father, yet they taught his inferiority to the Father in point of duration and

II. Such, I believe, are the chief objections, which, by Dr. Priestley and his associates, have

power no less than in point of ecumenical order and dignity ; inasmuch as, like all God's creatures, he had in time a commencement of existence, and had by no means subsisted as a distinct hypostasis from all eternity. Petav. de Trin. lib. i. c. 5, 7, 8. See Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. proëm. § 7.

I have *more than once* observed Petavius adduced, with no small triumph, by the pupils of the modern school of Antitrinitarianism : but I have *never* observed, on their part, the additional communication of certain other particulars, which, in common equity and candour, ought not to have been kept back from their readers.

I. With respect to the opinion expressed by Petavius, there is but too much reason to fear, that it was dishonestly advanced, for the purpose, of extolling the authority of Ecumenical Councils to decree new Articles of Faith, and of thus subserving the interests of the Church of Rome.

For the whole drift of his argument, like that of Hosius, Gordon, Gretser, Tanner, Vega, Possevin, Wickus, Perron, Fisher, Floyd, and other writers of the same stamp, goes to shew : that the doctrines of the Trinity and of Christ's essential godhead can be proved, neither from Scripture, nor from the consent of the primitive antenicene Fathers ; but that their truth rests entirely upon ecclesiastical decisions.

Whence the obvious and intended conclusion is : that those, who submit not to the Church of Rome as an infallible arbitress in points of Faith, can have no assurance of the truth of such doctrines.

II. Be this as it may, and whatever was the *object* of Petavius in advancing such an opinion, his mere *authority*, on which some modern Antitrinitarians seem so confidently to rely, is nothing in respect to a bare question of FACT, unless the alleged fact itself can be established by competent EVIDENCE.

Now,

been started against the alleged apostolicity of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Now, to judge of such evidence, requires honesty and diligence, rather than any special measure of talent and acuteness : and the authority of a great name in a question of *this* sort is but a foundation of sand, unless it be accompanied by invincible testimony.

III. But the grand particular, in the suppressing and withholding of which from their unsuspecting readers our Antitrinitarian authors are preëminently culpable, yet remains to be stated.

Whether, at an *earlier* period of his life, Petavius was, or was not, sincere, in the assertion which he hazarded : at a *subsequent* period, he confessed it to be erroneous, and retracted it accordingly.

*To do justice to the memory of so learned a man as Petavius,* says the excellent Mr. Nelson, *the Bishop of Meaux told me, discoursing with him once on this subject, that, in the last edition he made of his Works, he retracted this opinion.* Hickes's Letters, p. 334.

1. The very able and acute Bossuet had penetration enough to see, that such a mode of serving the Roman Church, as that so unhappily and so unworthily adopted by Petavius and others, was in truth nothing better than an undermining of the doctrine of the Trinity and an exposing of it to the ridicule and contempt of every impugner.

For, if the doctrine of Christ's essential and personally-*eternal* divinity *cannot*, by the plain and natural construction of language, be proved from Scripture ; and if, additionally, it was *never* held by the most ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Antenicene Church Catholic : the united testimony of criticism and of history will, in that case, be so strong against it, that it will be utterly incapable of establishment by the *bare* decision of any later Ecumenical Council.

2. This,



With respect to the mere abstract difficulties which the doctrine itself is said inherently to in-

2. This, I believe, is felt and acknowledged by the more wise and the more judicious members of the Latin Communion : for, in good sooth, they owe but small thanks to those, who would aggrandise their Church on principles manifestly and inherently untenable.

I am myself no prejudiced bigot against Ecumenical Councils, merely *as* such. On the contrary, I can readily conceive an Ecumenical Council *beneficially* to define, in imperishable writing, an article of faith, which from Scripture and from the well-ascertained teaching of the Apostles had always indeed been *held* by the Catholic Church, but which hitherto (no controversy having sprung up relative to the subject) had not with ecclesiastical formality and precision been thus *defined*.

But, while *this* I can readily conceive, no man breathing can apprehend the possibility of an Ecumenical Council *making*, by its mere dogmatical and unsupported decision, a doctrine to be *true*, which the entire Catholic Church had always anteriorly held to be *false*.

3. In fact, the very definition of articles of faith implies their previous existence : and such definition has always arisen, not from the circumstance of their previous non-existence, but from the circumstance of their having been impugned or perverted by innovators and heretics.

As no *bare* decree of an Ecumenical Council can, in the very nature of things, MAKE the doctrine of Christ's essential godhead to be *false* : so, by a parity of necessary reasoning, no *bare* decree of an Ecumenical Council can MAKE that doctrine to be *true*.

On sufficient evidence, its *truth* or its *falsehood* may be DECLARED by an Ecumenical Council : but such a declaration will always presuppose the existence of TESTIMONY anterior and prior to itself.

volve, I have at present no special concern with them. My inquiry is altogether *historical*: and it regards nothing more than the naked question

If the doctrine of Christ's essential godhead had invariably been rejected by the Catholic Church, from the time of the Apostles down to the commencement of the fourth century; and if, harmoniously, no proof of it could be set up from the plain and natural construction of Holy Scripture: certainly, in *that case*, no *bare* decision of the Ecumenical Council of Nice could suddenly MAKE a doctrine to be *true*, which bore upon its very front the indelible impress of *falsehood*.

The Nicene Fathers, however, acted much more rationally, than, according to the original crude assertion of Petavius, they could have acted. Instead of absurdly pretending, *by their own bare fiat* to MAKE a hitherto universally rejected doctrine to be *true*: they very rationally rest their declarative decision upon the well-known FACT of antiquity and priority.

*This, say they, is the apostolic and blameless faith of the Church: which faith, ultimately derived from the Lord himself through the Apostles, and handed down from our forefathers to their successors, the Church religiously preserves, and maintains the same both now and for ever.* Gelas. Cyzic. Hist. Concil. Nic. prim. lib. ii. c. 23. Labb. Concil. vol. ii. p. 224.

4. Statements of the character of those once hazarded by Petavius must ultimately prove fatal to the cause, which it was their object to serve: for, instead of *really* advancing the authority of Ecumenical Councils, they, by plain necessity, strip them of all authority whatsoever.

Petavius, however, retracted: and those antitrinitarian writers, who, to serve their own ends, from time to time adduce the unguarded assertion of that great scholar of the Latin Church, ought also to have communicated to their readers the not quite unimportant fact of his retractation.

of FACT; *Whether the doctrine before us was, or was not, the doctrine taught by the Apostles and from them received by the primitive Catholic Church.*

Hence I have no concern with any objections, save those which respect the bare question of the FACT now under discussion.

## CHAPTER II.

RESPECTING CERTAIN PASSAGES IN ATHANASIUS AND ORIGEN AND TERTULLIAN, WHICH HAVE BEEN ADDUCED AS ESTABLISHING THE FACT OF THE HUMANITARIAN ANTITRINITARIANISM OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.

---

IF the mass of evidence already produced be of any weight in the scale of Trinitarianism, it may well seem strange: that, down to a comparatively late period, the middle of the fourth century, a vast majority of the professed and admitted members of the Church Catholic should, nevertheless, have uninterruptedly been, from the very beginning, a mighty body of strenuous doctrinal Antitrinitarians; who rejected with abhorrence the divinity of Christ, who denied the distinct personality of the Spirit, and who vehemently contended for the exclusive godhead of the Father.

I. That certain innovators upon the primitive faith occasionally attempted to introduce speculations, which by the Catholic Church were from the very first deemed heretical; and that such



innovators *quitted* the communion of the Church from whose well defined doctrines they had apostatised, and henceforth formed themselves into *separate* sects or parties : is, indeed, a fact familiarly known to every student of ecclesiastical history.

But, that the favourite tenets of certain of these innovators should always have been held by an incalculable majority of believers *within* the pale of the Catholic Church down even so late as the age of Athanasius or the middle of the fourth century, may, with the evidence now before us, be reasonably deemed a paradox of most appalling dimensions.

Yet, in this high field of theological adventure, it has pleased Dr. Priestley to expatiate with no small measure of triumphant confidence : and, under the express character of a diligent historian, he has claimed to adduce *direct evidence in favour of the early Christians being generally* what he denominates *Unitarians* <sup>1</sup>.

II. Concerning the blended Antitrinitarianism and Humanitarianism of the primitive believers who constituted the Church Catholic of the first ages, Dr. Priestley is not a little positive.

*That the common people among Christians, says he, were actually Unitarians in the early ages, and believed nothing of the præexistence or divinity of*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2.

*Christ before the Council of Nice, we have as express testimony as can be desired in the case* <sup>1</sup>.

Now this express testimony is discovered in certain passages, which he has adduced from the writings of Tertullian and Origen and Athanasius.

But the testimony of those Fathers, at least as it is exhibited by the historian, more especially the testimony of Tertullian and of Origen, stands in such strange and direct and paradoxical contradiction to the whole body of evidence which has passed in review before us, that it is impossible to refrain from suspecting the existence either of some extraordinary misapprehension or of some unwarrantable misrepresentation.

Such being the case, a minute and careful examination of the passages in question, passages evidently by Dr. Priestley considered as his stronghold, will not be deemed altogether useless: and I am the more led to undertake the task, partly because these passages have been repeatedly and triumphantly brought forward both by the historian himself and by his zealous followers, and partly because I do not recollect to have ever seen them discussed with that distinct and precise reference to the theory built upon them, which the just establishment of the truth certainly requires.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2. Works vol. vi. p. 485.

III. Dr. Priestley adduces his three authors in their regular chronological succession *downward*: first, Tertullian; next, Origen; and, lastly, Athanasius.

Agreeably, however, to the plan of arrangement, which, throughout the present discussion, I have been led to adopt, I shall exactly invert the *downward* order of chronological succession: and thus, beginning with the age of Athanasius, I shall trace *upward*, in the respective ages of Origen and Tertullian, that overwhelming majority of Unitarians *within* the pale of the Church, if haply they can *there* be found to have *always* existed, which, according to Dr. Priestley, characterised so eminently a period extending at the least from the latter end of the second century to the middle of the fourth.

This retrogressive mode of investigation I consider both the best and the fairest. For, if we cannot discover Dr. Priestley's mass of catholic Unitarians in the age of Athanasius; it by no means *therefore* follows, that they existed not in the earlier age of Origen: and, if they should prove to be invisible in the age of Origen; we must not *therefore* too hastily conclude, that they are imperceptible in the yet earlier age of Tertullian.

In short, if Dr. Priestley can retain the evidence of the *more* ancient Tertullian, as that evidence is

exhibited by himself in his History of Early Opinions : his friends will have small need to regret the loss of the evidence, which has been thought to be afforded by the *less* ancient Origen and Athanasius.



## CHAPTER III.

RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY OF ATHANASIUS.

---

THE testimony of Athanasius, to THE MIGHTY PREVALENCE OF UNITARIANISM WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH about the middle of the fourth century, is, according to Dr. Priestley, full and decisive and express.

I subjoin the historian's own account of the matter, as set forth in his own precise words.

*Athanasius also, like Tertullian, acknowledged: that the unitarian doctrine was very prevalent, among the lower class of people in his time. He calls them THE MANY: and he describes them, as persons of low understanding.*

It grieves, *he says*, those who stand up for the holy faith, that the multitude, and especially persons of low understanding, should be infected with those blasphemies. Things, that are sublime and difficult, are not to be apprehended except by faith: and ignorant people must fall, if they cannot be persuaded to rest in faith and to avoid curious questions.

*This being the language of complaint, as well as that of Tertullian, it may be the more depended on for exhibiting a state of things very unfavourable to what was called THE ORTHODOXY of that age. And it was not the doctrine of Arius, but that of Paulus Samosatensis, that Athanasius is here complaining of*<sup>1</sup>.

I. For the better estimation of the evidence here adduced by Dr. Priestley, it will be useful to impress upon the mind a clear idea, both of his object, and of his mode of effecting his object.

The object of Dr. Priestley is, to establish the alleged historical fact: that *Humanitarian Antitrinitarianism was the doctrine, not merely of a few innovating individuals, but of THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ITSELF, from the very beginning.*

And the establishment of this alleged fact he would accomplish, through the medium of a proposed historical demonstration: that *Humanitarian Antitrinitarianism continued, IN UNBROKEN SUCCESSION, to prevail, among the great body of unlearned and uncorrupted believers WITHIN THE VERY PALE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ITSELF, through the several ages of Tertullian and Origen, down even to the time of Athanasius; each individual having ALWAYS and FROM HIS VERY CRADLE professed such doctrine, as his father and his grandfather, receiving*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 489.

*it from their predecessors, had, before him, professed it PERPETUALLY and INVARIABLY.*

Now, as this is plainly the *sole* medium, through which Dr. Priestley's object can *possibly* be effected : so the citation from Athanasius, even as translated and given by himself, does not, in the slightest degree, *further* that object. On the contrary, nothing can be more evident, than that it is absolutely *hostile* to his theory : insomuch that, for the purpose of effectually *subverting* it, there is no passage which I should be more inclined to adduce than the present.

Athanasius does not complain of the prevalence of an opinion, which yet he is constrained to acknowledge had ALWAYS and FROM THEIR VERY INFANCY been the HEREDITARY opinion of an incalculable majority of simple-minded believers WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CHURCH ; the point, plainly necessary for Dr. Priestley's purpose : but he laments ; that such INNOVATORS as the followers of Paul of Samosata should have succeeded in RECENTLY PERVERTING some of the vulgar from THE ANCIENT APOSTOLIC FAITH, by taking advantage of their ignorance, and by thence the more easily perplexing them with captious abstract objections to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Hence the whole evidence of the learned Father goes to shew ; that the individuals in question *had not* ALWAYS *been* antitrinitarian Humanitarians, but that they *had* NEWLY *become* so through the in-

strumentality of these innovating teachers : and, what Athanasius complains of or rather what he laments, is, not *their confessed* ABORIGINAL error, but *their mere well-known* RECENT perversion.

*The INNOVATION of Paul of Samosata, says he, which attempts to overturn the great mystery respecting Christ, grieved the holy Synod. And it now also grieves those who stand up for the holy faith : inasmuch as, respecting the self-same blasphemies, it still injures the many, and most especially those who are low in understanding. For matters, which are great and difficult of apprehension, are received by faith toward God. Whence those, who are impotent in knowledge, FALL AWAY, unless they can be persuaded to CONTINUE in the faith and to avoid curious questions.—But we exhort you, as also we exhort ourselves, to guard THE FAITH WHICH HAS BEEN HANDED DOWN, and to turn away from unhallowed NOVELTIES* <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐλύπει μὲν τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσάτεως ἡ καινοτομία, τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τὸ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἀνατρέπειν ἐπιχειροῦσα· λυπεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀντεχομένους τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως, ἡ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βλασφημιῶν βλάπτουσα τοὺς πολλοὺς, μάλιστα τοὺς ἡλαττωμένους περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν. Τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα καὶ δυσκατάληπτα τῶν πραγμάτων, πίστει τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, λαμβάνεται. Ὅθεν οἱ περὶ τὴν γνῶσιν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἀποπίπτουσιν, εἰ μὴ πεισθεῖεν ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει καὶ τὰς περιέργους ζητήσεις ἐκτρέπεσθαι. —Παραινοῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅπερ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς παραινοῦμεν, τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν φυλάττειν, ἐκτρέπεσθαι δὲ τὰς βεβήλους καινοφωνίας. Athan. de Incarn. Verb. cont. Paul. Samosat. Oper. vol. i. p. 461.



Such is the attestation of Athanasius, when *fully* given, and when *accurately* exhibited in an english dress.

1. The doctrine of Paul, which at that time was still injuring various individuals among the ignorant vulgar, he pronounces to be AN INNOVATION: and, on that precise ground of its *novelty*, he exhorts all christian believers to guard the faith which had been handed down from the apostolic age and to turn away from the upstart speculations of the Samosatenian.

Now such language is plainly inconsistent with the position which Dr. Priestley would establish.

For, if it had been a well-known fact; that *The great majority of believers* WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CHURCH *had* ALWAYS, *both* FROM THEIR VERY CRADLES, *and* IN UNBROKEN SUCCESSION FROM THEIR FOREFATHERS, *been antitrinitarian Humanitarians*: Athanasius could never have idly talked of their having been *injured* by the blasphemous INNOVATION of Paul of Samosata.

The very word *injured* implies the previous maintenance of a directly opposite theological system: and the very term *innovation* contradicts the notion of unbroken perpetuity.

Had the multitude from their infancy, like their fathers and their fathers' fathers before them, *invariably* and *immutably* held the system of Paul: *that* system could not have been said to have *injured* them; for, in such a supposed case, it

would have simply left them as it found them. And, had it been an universally notorious fact; that *The system in question, though now somewhat out of fashion among the philosophising Fathers, had been regularly handed down, WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CHURCH, from the very time and on the very authority of the Apostles themselves, IN UNBROKEN AND UNCHANGING SUCCESSION, by the great majority of believers*: Athanasius, in a public controversy; could never have dared to call it *an innovation*; for it is obvious, that phraseology of *this* description must have respected, not *the truth or the falsehood of a DOCTRINE*, but *the truth or the falsehood of a bare FACT, concerning which every individual would be fully capable of forming a competent judgment.*

2. Thus, even on the first inspection, the general tenor of the language employed by Athanasius distinctly imports: that *These ignorant and fickle persons had relinquished their ORIGINAL faith and had recently adopted a NEW system instead of it.*

But the point is decided, if it require any decision, both by the import of a Greek verb which the learned Father has carefully introduced into his account of the matter, and by the tenor of a phrase which he has placed in studied opposition to the Greek verb in question.

(1.) This verb, very defectively in sense and very inaccurately in mood, Dr. Priestley translates *must fall*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. ἀποπίπτουσι.

But even *such* a management of the word will not avail him. For, if, in the judgment of Athanasius, the ignorant individuals, under particular circumstances, *must fall*: they *must* also, previous to this their inevitable fall, have, in his judgment, *stood*.

Still more, then, shall we discern the palpable irrelevancy of the passage to Dr. Priestley's purpose, when, in sense and in mood, the verb is justly translated.

*Those, says Athanasius, who are impotent in knowledge, FALL AWAY OR FALL OFF OR APOSTATISE.*

Such is the proper rendering of the compound Greek verb employed by the zealous Father.

The impotent in knowledge *fall away* or *apostatise* from something which they had *previously maintained*.

What, then, was the doctrine, from which these ignorant persons *fell away*, in consequence of their being perplexed by the captious objections or curious questions of Paul's antitrinitarian disciples?

Certainly, it was the doctrine, which they had *previously held*: and, no less certainly, the doctrine, which they had *previously held*, was the precise doctrine *received and defended by Athanasius*.

Hence it is abundantly manifest, that *Their PREVIOUSLY MAINTAINED doctrine, from which they AFTERWARD FELL AWAY into Samosatenian Antitrinitarianism, was the doctrine of the Holy Trinity*

viewed as including that of Christ's essential god-head.

(2.) Accordingly, Athanasius places a very important phrase in studied opposition to the Greek verb which he introduces <sup>1</sup>.

This phrase Dr. Priestley has translated *to rest in faith*: and he evidently wishes to exhibit it, as importing, what he would deem *a blind acquiescence and servile prostration of the intellect to a matter required to be believed without any sufficient testimony*.

But the phrase itself, which Athanasius has minutely and verbally borrowed from Holy Writ, bears no such sense as that which Dr. Priestley would impose upon it <sup>2</sup>. Its import is: not *to rest in faith*, or implicitly to acquiesce in some matter which we are required to believe; but *to continue in the faith*, or to persevere in the profession of sound Christianity <sup>3</sup>.

*Those, says Athanasius, who are impotent in*

<sup>1</sup> Gr. ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει.

<sup>2</sup> Παρακαλοῦντες ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει. Act. xiv. 22. Εἴγε ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει, τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἐδραῖοι. Coloss. i. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Athanasius himself, in the immediately subsequent context, explains his own meaning.

‘Ο μὲν γὰρ ζητῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν, ἐπικίνδυνος· ὁ δὲ τοῖς παραδοθεῖσιν ἐμμένων, ἀκίνδυνος. Athan. de Incar. Verb. Oper. vol. i. p. 461.

Here, ὁ δὲ τοῖς παραδοθεῖσιν ἐμμένων answers, and explains, ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει: as, in the next clause, τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν corresponds with τοῖς παραδοθεῖσιν.



*knowledge*, FALL AWAY, *unless they can be persuaded TO CONTINUE IN THE FAITH.*

In this clause, the opposition clearly lies, between the verb *fall away*, and the phrase *continue in the faith*: and the antithesis is so employed by Athanasius, that, unless we wilfully close our eyes, it is quite impossible to mistake his necessary meaning.

He would persuade the ignorant persons *to continue* in the faith, which *hitherto* they had *always* professed. But, being easily *perverted* through their impotence in knowledge, they unhappily *fall away* or *apostatise*.

They *originally held* the catholic faith of the Trinity. But, from this their *first* faith, they *subsequently fell away* into the Samosatene novelty of Antitrinitarianism.

II. Dr. Priestley, however, from the language of Athanasius, is willing to believe, not merely that *a few unstable individuals*, but that *the multitude collectively*, were staunch Unipersonalists: and he inclines to think, that what he calls *the complaint* of the great Alexandrian exhibits a state of things very unfavourable to the orthodoxy of that age.

If it so please him, let the historian of *Early Opinions* reckon up these Unipersonalists by thousands and by millions: still his theological arithmetic can never establish the FACT which he has undertaken to establish.

The supposed swarms of Antitrinitarians will still be *mere* RECENT APOSTATES *from the faith which they* ORIGINALLY HELD.

No controversial alchemy can transmute them, what is obviously necessary for the establishment of Dr. Priestley's alleged FACT, into *an* UNDEVIATING and UNBROKEN *succession of* PERPETUAL *impugners of Christ's godhead,* WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, *from the apostolic age itself down to the time of Athanasius.*

The persons in question *first* held the faith of the Trinity: *afterward,* they fell away from it, being injured (as Athanasius testifies) by the innovating disciples of Paul of Samosata.

Hence, even if we concede to Dr. Priestley *the entire multitude* in the days of Athanasius, I see not, how he will be any nearer to the establishment of his alleged FACT: and as little do I see, how the language of that Father exhibits a state of things very unfavourable to the cause of abstract orthodoxy.

According to the necessary purport of the citation, which Dr. Priestley, however imperfectly and inaccurately, has *himself* made from the Works of Athanasius, he will only have gained *a multitude of declared* APOSTATES *to Samosatentic Antitrinitarianism from their* ORIGINAL *faith in the Holy Trinity:* and this acquisition will leave, if I mistake not, the abstract truth of what is familiarly called *Orthodoxy* altogether unimpaired.

III. That the present very obvious answer would be given to his pretended proof from Athanasius, Dr. Priestley seems to have been fully aware.

Hence, in a subsequent part of his history, we are assured : that the antitrinitarian teachers of that period did not MAKE men *converts* to their opinions ; but that, *no doubt*, they FOUND them *already* staunch Unipersonalists <sup>1</sup>.

Clearly *this* is the very hinge, upon which the whole question turns : but then the degree of value, which we ought to attach to Dr. Priestley's somewhat peremptory phrase NO DOUBT, is best determined by the express testimony of Athanasius himself.

Now that Father, as we have seen, positively assures us : that *The vulgar Samosatensians of his day were APOSTATES from the faith which they had ONCE held.*

It is clear, therefore : that their new teachers did not FIND them Unipersonalists *already* (as Dr. Priestley, on authorities best known to himself, pronounces to have been NO DOUBT the case) ; but that they MADE them so, by a *recent perversion* from their *originally opposite* tenets <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 16. sect. 1. Works, vol. vii. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Exactly the same remark equally applies to the opposition, encountered in Asia, by Basil and the two Gregories and Cyril of Jerusalem.

IV. We may well, however, be permitted to doubt, whether the multitude in the days of

On this opposition, as if it greatly tended to vindicate his own speculations, Dr. Priestley expatiates with much satisfaction.

But, in truth, the sole pertinent question is: *Who were the opponents of these ancient catholic Bishops? Were their opponents ORIGINALLY Antitrinitarians, by hereditary descent, who, with their antitrinitarian fathers before them, had always, without any censure, flourished within the pale of the Universal and Apostolical Church? Or did their opponents BECOME Antitrinitarians by an apostasy from their previous Trinitarianism?*

In a passage, most infelicitously cited by Dr. Priestley himself, Cyril affords the desired answer to this question.

Νῦν δὲ ἐστὶν ἈΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΑ· ΑΠΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως. Καὶ οἱ μὲν νιοπατορίαν καταγγέλλουσιν· οἱ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρενεχθέντα λέγειν τολμῶσι. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. xv. p. 162.

*Now there is an APOSTASY: for men HAVE APOSTATISED from the right faith. Inasmuch as some maintain the personal identity of the Father and the Son: while others dare to say, that the Christ was called into existence from a state of non-existence.*

Whatever might be the number of these declared APOSTATES from their own original faith in the Trinity, and however loud and fierce might have been their clamours: I see not, how *their* existence can at all tend to establish Dr. Priestley's favourite theory.

For *such* a purpose, they and their fathers before them, WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, and IN UNBROKEN SUCCESSION FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE, ought *demonstratively* to have been UNVARYING and UNCHANGING and STRICTLY HEREDITARY Antitrinitarians. Whereas Cyril expressly informs us: that they were MERE RECENT APOSTATES from the right faith; which right faith, consequently, they must *themselves* have HELD *previous* to their declared and notorious APOSTASY.

Had



Athanasius *can* be conceded to Dr. Priestley ; little as such an acquisition, under such circumstances, would benefit the cause which he has espoused.

1. In his zeal for Humanitarianism, Dr. Priestley seems to have forgotten the historical impossibility, that the entire multitude, or even a great majority of the multitude, should at that time have professed the tenets advocated by Paul of Samosata.

The prevalent aberration from the faith, in the days of Athanasius, was *not* that species of Antitrinitarianism, which Dr. Priestley fancies to be identical with primitive Christianity : but, on the contrary, as every student of ecclesiastical history well knows, it was the system of opinions advanced and propagated by Arius and his followers.

If, then, with Dr. Priestley, we suppose *the multitude* to have been Samosatenian Antitrinitarians, it will be difficult to comprehend, how Arianism could have spread so very widely, as history testifies it to have spread.

2. In truth, a little plain common sense may teach us : that, when Athanasius speaks of the injury accruing to *the many* from the blasphemous

Had Asia even overflowed with religionists *thus* circumstanced : the fact would have been no way beneficial to the cause advocated by Dr. Priestley. But, in truth, the testimony of Cyril is positively hostile to his speculation : for the very process of APOSTASY establishes, by plain necessity, the *priority* of the Faith whence the APOSTASY took place.

novelties of Paul and his disciples, he does not mean to say ; that *Either the entire multitude, or even an immense majority of it, had apostatised, from their original faith, to the upstart speculations of the Samosatenian ; but that The poison was swallowed chiefly by individuals of that particular class.*

Some of these, it seems, perplexed by the abstract subtleties of their new teachers and impotent in theological knowledge, APOSTATISED to Antitrinitarianism : and thus, as Athanasius speaks, refusing to avoid curious questions, they ceased to CONTINUE in the original faith once delivered to the saints.

## CHAPTER IV.

### RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY OF ORIGEN.

---

BUT, although Athanasius has proved only a treacherous ally to Dr. Priestley, it does not therefore follow, that Origen, who flourished about a century earlier, may not render him somewhat better service.

Accordingly, to the important alleged fact which the Historian of *Early Opinions* has undertaken to establish, the testimony of that Father is strenuously claimed, both by Dr. Priestley himself, and likewise by a yet more recent author who combats under the masquerading appellation of *Another Barrister*<sup>1</sup>.

I. The supposed testimony of Origen is found in no less than three several concurring passages, all of which present themselves in his Commentary upon the Gospel according to St. John.

These passages I subjoin, translated with as

<sup>1</sup> The Work of this author is entitled, *Letters in defence of Unitarianism by another Barrister.*

much accuracy as I can command : for I venture to esteem my own version somewhat more exact, either than that of Dr. Priestley, or than that of the anonymous Barrister<sup>1</sup>.

1. The first passage occurs in the first tome or section of the diligent Father's Commentary : and it consists of two parts, separated from each other by the intervention of certain matter which will hereafter be noticed.

*And this it was fit to know, that, as the Law affords a shadow of good things to come, made manifest by the Law which is preached according to the truth : so likewise the Gospel, which is thought to be understood by all those who address themselves to it, teaches a shadow of the Mysteries of Christ. But, what John calls THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL, or what might fitly be styled THE SPIRITUAL GOSPEL, clearly sets forth, to those who understand it, all things, even before their very faces, concerning the Son of God.—*

*Wherefore it is necessary to christianise, both spiritually and corporeally. And, where indeed it is fit to preach the corporeal Gospel, saying to the carnal that We know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified : this must be done by us. But, when*

<sup>1</sup> As I carefully give, in the margin, the original Greek of all the three passages, according to the plan uniformly followed throughout the present Work, every lettered reader, without any further trouble to himself, will be able to pronounce upon the accuracy of my translation.



*they shall be found firmly compacted in the Spirit and bringing forth fruit in it: then, as loving the heavenly wisdom, we may impart to them of the Word ascending up again, from having been incarnate, to the state in which he was with God in the beginning*<sup>1</sup>.

2. The second passage occurs in the second tome of the same Commentary.

*Thus some, indeed, partake of the Word which was in the beginning, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: as Hosea, and Isaiah, and Jeremiah, or if any other person has set himself forth to be such, as the Word of the Lord, or that the Word came to him. But others, who know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified, even the Word that was made flesh, thinking that this is the whole*

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ εἰδέναι ἔχρῃν, ὅτι, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ νόμος σκιὰν παρέχων τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν καταγγελλομένου νόμου δηλουμένων, οὕτω καὶ εὐαγγέλιον σκιὰν μυστηρίω: Χριστοῦ διδάσκει, τὸ νομιζόμενον ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων νοεῖσθαι. Ὁ δὲ φησὶν Ἰωάννης εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον, οἰκείως ἂν λεχθῆσόμενον πνευματικὸν, σαφῶς παρίστησι τοῖς νοοῦσι τὰ πάντα ἐνώπιον περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ.—

Διόπερ ἀναγκαῖον πνευματικῶς καὶ σωματικῶς χριστιανίζειν· καὶ, ὅπου μὲν χρῆ τὸ σωματικὸν κηρύσσειν εὐαγγέλιον, φάσκοντα, μηδὲν εἶναι (lege εἰδέναι), τοῖς σαρκίκοις, ἢ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτο ποιητέον· ἐπὰν δὲ εὐρεθῶσι κατηρητισμένοι τῷ Πνεύματι καὶ καρποφοροῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐρῶντές τε τῆς οὐρανόσου σοφίας, μεταδοτέον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λόγου ἐπανελθόντος, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσαρκῶσθαι, ἐφ' ὃ ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. i. Oper. vol. ii. p. 9. Rothomag. 1668.

*of the Word, know Christ only according to the flesh. Now this is the multitude of those, who are commonly reckoned to believe* <sup>1</sup>.

3. The third passage likewise occurs in the second tome of the Commentary.

*The multitudes of those, who are commonly reckoned to believe, are instructed in the shadow of the Word, and not in the true Word who is in the opened heaven* <sup>2</sup>.

II. These three passages have been professedly adduced by Dr. Priestley, and from him have been implicitly copied by the anonymous Barrister, for the avowed purpose of gaining the testimony of antiquity to the once almost universal prevalence of their own favourite scheme of doctrine within the pale of the Catholic Church.

According to Dr. Priestley, they afford direct evidence : that *The gentile Christians were gene-*

<sup>1</sup> Οὕτω τοίνυν οἱ μὲν τινὲς μετέχουσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ Λόγου, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν Λόγου, καὶ Θεοῦ Λόγου, ὡσπερ Ὡσηὲ καὶ Ἡσαΐας καὶ Ἰεριμίας καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν παρέστησεν, ὡς τὸν Λόγον Κυρίου, ἢ τὸν Λόγον γενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἕτεροι δὲ οἱ μηδὲν εἰδότες εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἑσταυρωμένον, τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα Λόγον, τὸ πᾶν νομίσαντες εἶναι τοῦ Λόγου, Χριστὸν κατὰ σάρκα μόνον γινώσκουσι τοιοῦτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πεπιστευκέναι νομιζομένων. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ δὲ πλήθη τῶν πεπιστευκέναι νομιζομένων, τῇ σκιᾷ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ ἀληθινῷ Λόγῳ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀνεφώγῳ οὐρανῷ τυγχάνοντι, μαθητεύεται. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 52.

rally Unitarians, who rejected with abhorrence the doctrine of our Lord's divinity<sup>1</sup>.

According to the anonymous Barrister, *They manifest the very same state of things or one highly similar to it, as existing alike in the days of Origen and in the days of Tertullian; Origen, though partly contemporary with Tertullian, having lived through some years later: and their special utility is this; that They take away all doubt as to the meaning both of the language of Origen and of the language of Tertullian, clearly establishing what was the belief of the multitude in the Christian World at the times when they respectively composed the Works in which these several passages occur*<sup>2</sup>.

The testimony of Origen, in short, is alleged by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, as fully establishing the important fact: that, *At the time when Origen flourished or about the middle of the third century, the great majority of Christians, WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, both STILL WERE, and FROM THEIR VERY CRADLES HAD ALWAYS BEEN, strenuous Antitrinitarians; who, while the philosophising and semipaganising Fathers were diligently engaged in the unholy labour of its corrupt introduction, steadily rejected with honest abhorrence the novel doctrine of our Lord's divinity*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> Letters by another Barrister, p. 276, 277.

<sup>3</sup> It might seem, that Origen's own opinion was in very



III. In *themselves*, torn away from their context and exhibited (as Dr. Priestley and the Barrister

tolerable keeping with his testimony. At least, so we are informed by those, who profess to have studied the subject.

Dr. Priestley and Mr. Lindsey and the anonymous Barrister have adduced Origen, as *speaking unfavourably of the proper divinity of Christ*.

Their alleged ground for this adduction is: that he pronounces the Father to be alone *The Self-existent Being* or to be alone *God absolutely*; while he considers Christ, as being simply *A subordinate God* or *A God merely by the appointment of the Supreme God and Father*. Priestley's *Hist. of Early Opin.* book ii. chap. 4. Works, vol. vi. p. 253, 254. Lindsey's *Sequel to Apol.* p. 198, 199. Letters by another Barrister, p. 19, 20.

I. These writers, I fear, must be charged, either with a total misapprehension, or with a deliberate perversion, of the learned Alexandrian.

1. Through the medium of a criticism on the use of the Greek Article, Origen states: that the title of Ο ΘΕΟΣ, or of GOD with the Article prefixed to the name, is the most fitly applied to the Father; because, in the economy of the Godhead, the Father alone is *Ἀυτόθεος* or *God of himself*: while the title of ΘΕΟΣ simply, or of GOD without the Article prefixed to the name, is more properly applied to the Son; because the Son is not *God of himself*, but *God of the substance of the Father*.

Even delegated rulers, he goes on to argue, may be catachrestically called *gods*, as they sometimes actually are so called in Scripture, merely as a sort of earthly images or representations of the Most High.

But the Word, though not *Ἀυτόθεος* or *God of himself*, is, by filiation from the substance of the Father, *God properly and essentially*, the archetypal image of many images, God eternally remaining with God in never ceasing contemplation of the



exhibit them) in a perfectly insulated state, the passages, cited from Origen, are dark and obscure :

paternal profundity. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 45—47.

2. Whatever may be thought of Origen's criticism on the use of the Article, he assuredly builds upon it no doctrine save that which the Church Catholic has in all ages maintained : the doctrine, namely ; that *The Father ALONE is God of himself; while the Son and the Spirit are eternal emanations from the primordial Fountain of Deity, each alike being God, not merely by delegation, but strictly and properly and essentially, inasmuch as each is alike consubstantial with the Father.* See below, book ii. chap. 9, 10.

Hence I perceive not, how the criticism of Origen, as avowedly employed by *himself*, can at all benefit the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism. Let its abstract merits be what they may, he builds upon it, *not* the speculation wherewithal our three writers would saddle him, but simply the doctrine which the Catholic Church has invariably held and has invariably handed down from the very beginning.

II. I subjoin Origen's distinct assertion, both of *The preëxistence of the Word*, and of *The eternal existence of the Word*.

Πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν οὐ ΓΙΝΕΤΑΙ (ὁ Λόγος), ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ὦν πρὸς αὐτόν· παρὰ δὲ τὸ ΑΕΙ ΣΥΝΕΙΝΑΙ τῷ Πατρὶ, λέγεται, Καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἮΝ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Οὐ γὰρ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· καὶ ταυτὸν ῥῆμα, τὸ ἮΝ, τοῦ Λόγου κατηγορεῖται, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ἮΝ καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἮΝ, οὔτε τῆς ἀρχῆς χωριζόμενος, οὔτε τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀπολειπόμενος. Καὶ, πάλιν, οὔτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ΜΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ἐν ἀρχῇ· οὔτε, ἀπὸ τοῦ ΜΗ ΤΥΓΧΑΝΕΙΝ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ· πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς χρόνου καὶ αἰῶνος, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἮΝ ὁ Λόγος καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἮΝ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 45.

Through the medium of a masterly criticism on the import of

nor can their obscurity be dispelled, unless we advert, partly to the usages of the Church as they stood in the age of that Father, partly to the context and thence evident drift of the passages themselves, and partly to the distinct and unambiguous testimony even of this very Origen as to what was *really* in his time the universal faith of the Church Catholic.

Unfortunately, so obvious a mode of elucidation seems never to have occurred either to Dr. Priestley or to the Barrister.

the two words *Εἰμὶ* and *Γίνομαι*, it is here distinctly asserted of the Son : both that *He is uncreated*, and that *He had eternally before all time coëxisted with the Father*.

That the enquirer may form a just estimate either of the historical competency or of the theological good faith of Dr. Priestley and Mr. Lindsey and the anonymous Barrister, I think it right to state : that this assertion of Origen is taken out of the *identical* collective passage, whence those three writers have learned ; that, in the judgment of that Father, *Christ is not God properly and essentially*, but that *He is only a creature invested with the character of an official god by the appointment of the Supreme God*.

If, when, on the strength of the immediate context, our three writers described Origen as *speaking unfavourably of the proper divinity of Christ*, they had *never* read this decisive passage : the prudent inquirer will know how to value, their historical carefulness, and thence their historical competency.

If, on the contrary, when giving such an account of Origen's sentiments, they actually *had* read this decisive passage : the prudent inquirer will equally know how to value their theological good faith and honesty.

With a perfect disregard both of context and of circumstances, *dipping* into the Work of Origen instead of *diligently reading* it, these two superficial writers have hastily pitched upon certain passages, which, through a complete misapprehension of their import, they have unskilfully deemed favourable to the cause of modern Humanitarianism: and the disgraceful consequence has been a blunder, extraordinary alike in its character and in its dimensions.

THE COLLECTIVE MULTITUDE OF CHRISTIAN CATECHUMENS, TO WHOM, IN THE COURSE OF THEIR GRADUAL THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION, THE RECONDITE DOCTRINES OF CHRIST'S GODHEAD AND THE TRINITY HAD NOT AS YET BEEN COMMUNICATED, they have each, on the one hand, mistaken for A NOBLE ARMY OF HEREDITARY AND NEVER DEVIATING ANTITRINITARIAN CONFESSORS, WHO, FROM THEIR VERY CRADLES, HAD REJECTED WITH ABHORRENCE THE DOCTRINE OF OUR LORD'S DIVINITY: while, on the other hand, THOSE MORE FULLY INSTRUCTED CHRISTIANS, WHO HAD BEEN BAPTISED AND INITIATED INTO THE ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL MYSTERIES, they have each pronounced to be THE PHILOSOPHISING VOTARIES OF ORIGEN AND TERTULLIAN AND OTHER MISCHIEVOUS INNOVATORS FROM THE TIME OF JUSTIN DOWNWARD, WHO WERE ENDEAVOURING TO INTRODUCE INTO THE CHURCH THE THEN NOVEL AND GENERALLY OPPOSED THEORY OF THE TRINITY.

1. I have already, in the way of historical testi-

mony, had occasion to notice at some length a very remarkable and a very ancient institution of the Christian Church, which was in full vigour during the times of Origen and Tertullian, and which bore among the faithful the name of THE MYSTERIES.

The title of this institution by no means imported, that certain doctrines were confided only to a few master-minds, while from the bulk of vulgar believers they were carefully concealed: on the contrary, its principle was merely the very simple and the very rational principle of gradual instruction.

While in training under the care of the episcopally appointed Catechist, the Catechumens were, for a considerable time, admitted into little beyond the generalities of sincere religion. During this preparatory stage, the rabble of pagan deities was made to give place to the one Almighty Cause of all things: a future state of rewards and punishments, according to the conduct of men during their day of probation in this world, was declared and enforced on the authority of a divine revelation: and Christ was exhibited to them, as the great appointed teacher of righteousness and as the holy prophet of the new and better covenant.

But, when the Catechumens were judged to have become sufficiently perfect in these preliminary matters, when their godly sincerity had been fully evinced by the correct sanctity of their



demeanour, and when they were found to love the heavenly wisdom and to desire yet further communications of it in order to their complete admission into the Church by the initiatory rite of Baptism: then, with the season of Lent, commenced another series of catechetical lectures, which, in the course of forty days, imparted to them what were deemed the secrets of the Christian Mysteries.

First and foremost of these secrets, itself so *preëminently* the grand secret as to be sometimes by writers on the subject even *exclusively* particularised, stood the doctrine of the Holy Trinity: and with it was inseparably connected, as immediately emanating from it and as specially dependent upon it, the doctrine of Christ's incarnate godhead. From the palmary secret of the Trinity branched out the entire system of evangelical peculiarities, each of which was counted a subordinate and dependent secret of the Mysteries: and the whole conjointly formed the subject of those instructions, which were at length communicated to the more advanced Catechumens who were about to be illuminated or baptised.

In short, as the first series of lectures treated only of the *generalities* of the Christian Dispensation: so the second series of lectures professed to set forth its *peculiarities*, under the technical aspect of *an initiation into the Mysteries*.

The adoption of such a plan produced the neces-

sary result, that the great multitude of the junior Catechumens were ignorant of the doctrines of the Trinity and Christ's godhead, except so far as they might accidentally have caught some glimpses of their existence: while, to *every* individual who had been fully instructed and who had been subsequently baptised, these doctrines were of course perfectly familiar.

Hence, according to their progress in theological knowledge, the collective body of believers was divided into two classes: the class of *Those who were as yet instructed only in the shadow of the Word*, as Origen speaks; and the class of *Those who had been made acquainted with the true Word in the opened heaven*.

2. To this usage of the Catholic Church, the passages from Origen, which have been so disgracefully misunderstood by the Historian and the Barrister, most undoubtedly refer.

Any person, indeed, who merely reads them with the then existing usage of the Catholic Church in his mind, will immediately perceive the allusion. But the matter is put out of all possible dispute by the entire tenor of their context: a circumstance, which Dr. Priestley and his follower must *themselves* have perceived, had they taken the very ordinary trouble of perusing that context in connection with the familiar usage of the Church in the second and third centuries.

(1.) Of the three parallel passages which have

been cited from Origen, the first and earliest, as might naturally be expected, furnishes a key to the whole. For, when we examine its immediate context, we shall clearly perceive : that that Father, speaking in his character of a Catechist, merely sets forth the comparative ignorance of those numerous Catechumens, who as yet had not been instructed in the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation ; such doctrines, as we have already seen, being communicated to Christian Aspirants only during the forty days which immediately preceded their baptismal initiation.

Almost at the commencement of his Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John, having stated how he had wholly devoted himself to the service of God, and having intimated that the Gospel at large was the very cream of the whole inspired volume, Origen mentions his residence at Alexandria, where he long presided in the important office of a Catechist<sup>1</sup>. *Here, what could I do better, he asks, than dedicate the cream of my life to what may well be called the cream of Scripture*<sup>2</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> In his office of Catechist at Alexandria, Origen succeeded his master Clement, as Clement had succeeded his own master Pantenus : and Pantenus himself was the first Catechist there after the Apostles. Origen was appointed to the office by Demetrius of Alexandria. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 2, 3, 6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Comment. in Johan. tom. i. Oper. vol. ii. p. 3, 4. I have used the English word *cream* in its proverbial sense, as best expressing the idea of Origen's ἀπαρχή.



He then expatiates at some length upon the idea, which he had started.

And he finally winds up the whole by saying: that, *As the Gospel in general was the cream of all the Scriptures, so the Gospel of John in particular was the cream of all the other Gospels; for John, who wrote the last and the most perfectly, set forth the divinity of his Lord more clearly and more distinctly than any one of his three predecessors* <sup>1</sup>.

After these preliminaries, adopting the then fashionable phraseology of the Mysteries, he remarks: that *Every one, who had been initiated, lives no longer himself, but Christ lives in him* <sup>2</sup>. And he adds, in allusion to the sacred speech of the hierophant: that *The Gospel is an oration, which propounds to the Catechumen matters exhilarating on account of their profitableness* <sup>3</sup>.

Having thus characteristically introduced the topic of catechumenical instruction, he soon proceeds to treat more largely of its principles.

Even to many of those, he observes, who flourished *before* the advent of Christ, and who from

<sup>1</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 4—6.

<sup>2</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 6. Gr. πᾶς ὁ τετελειωμένος. The word τετελειωμένος is technically allusive to the Τέλη or Mysteries. Every Epopt was styled *perfect*.

<sup>3</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 6. Gr. τὸν ἀκούοντα. The phrase ὁ ἀκούων was the technical appellation of a Catechumen. *Audientes et Auditores*, says Rhenanus on Tertullian, *ea ætas vocabat Catechumenos*. Tertull. de pœnit. Oper. p. 481. For this remark, he cites the authority of Cyprian.



being babes had been rendered more perfect by initiation <sup>1</sup>, such as the Patriarchs and Moses and the Prophets, the coming of the Saviour was by no means unknown: though the less instructed were wont to entertain but obscure notions respecting it. And, in a similar manner, even *after* his corporeal manifestation upon earth, certain discourses, which may properly be termed *pedagogical* and which are a sort of precursors of Christ, are still fitly delivered to babes in knowledge: since, as yet, they are under preceptors, and have not hitherto arrived at the fulness of the time of their initiation. To these persons, who have not been initiated into the higher Mysteries of the Gospel, the Son, who is the glorified God the Word, hath not as yet been declared. For he expects, that a requisite preparation should be undergone by those, who are about to be introduced to the recondite doctrine of his divinity <sup>2</sup>.

*And this it was fit to know* (we are now, after passing through the antecedent context, arrived at the *first* part of the earliest of the three passages cited by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister): *This it was fit to know, that, as the Law affords a shadow of good things to come, made manifest by the Law which is preached according to the truth: so likewise the Gospel, which is thought to be understood by*

<sup>1</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 8. Gr. τοῖς τελειωτέροις, a technical expression of the Mysteries.

<sup>2</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 8, 9.

*all those who address themselves to it, teaches a shadow of the Mysteries of Christ. But, what John calls THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL, or what might fitly be styled THE SPIRITUAL GOSPEL, clearly sets forth, to those who understand it, all things, even before their very faces, concerning the Son of God*<sup>1</sup>.

After this statement of the erroneousness of the opinion; that all those who addressed themselves to the study of the Gospel, or (in other words) all the hitherto uninitiated Catechumens, really understood its full import, until, by further institution, they had been introduced to the knowledge of the spiritual doctrine: after this allusion to the ignorance in which the Catechumens were systematically kept until the forty days of Lent which immediately preceded their baptism, a few unimportant words occur, which are followed by an hiatus. But, fortunately, from the circumstance of the fragment, AND BAPTISM, appearing where the text again proceeds in a perfect state, we have a very satisfactory clue afforded us, as to the subject discussed by the learned Catechist in the intermediate lost sentence or sentences<sup>2</sup>. These two broken words, AND BAPTISM, the conclusion of the lost clause or paragraph, shew plainly enough: that, in the course of that lost clause or paragraph,

<sup>1</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Τούτοις δὲ ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν ἐκλαμβάνειν, ὅτι, ὃν τρόπον  
\* \* \* \* \* καὶ βάπτισμα. Παῦλος μὲν καὶ Πέτρος κ. τ. λ.  
Comment. in Johan. p. 9.

Origen had been treating of the final instruction given to Catechumens during the forty days which immediately preceded *their baptism*; instructions, which respected the hitherto concealed Mystery of the Godhead of Christ and of the Holy Trinity with the various doctrines dependent upon it.

The gap is followed by some remarks upon the conduct of St. Paul: who, to the Jews, became a Jew, in order that he might gain the Jews. And then Origen states: that the person, who lays himself out for the profit of many (meaning, doubtless, *himself*, in his quality of a Catechist), cannot improve and advance, to better and higher truths, those individuals, who still continue to be instructed in nothing more than the elements of exoteric Christianity<sup>1</sup>.

*Wherefore it is necessary* (we are now arrived at the *second* part of the earliest of the three passages cited by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister): *Wherefore it is necessary to christianise, both spiritually and corporeally. And, where indeed it is fit to preach the corporeal Gospel, saying to the carnal that We know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified: this must be done by us. But, when they shall be found firmly compacted in the Spirit and bringing forth fruit in it: then, as loving the heavenly wisdom, we may impart to them of the Word ascending up again, from having been incarnate, to*

<sup>1</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 9.



*the state in which he was with God in the beginning*<sup>1</sup>.

I have now faithfully exhibited the context of the earliest of the three cited passages, together with the passage itself in each of its two separated parts: and, from this exhibition, the purport of the passage is, I think, most abundantly manifest.

By *those multitudes of believers, who are described as instructed, only in the shadow of the Word, and not in the true celestial Word*, Origen means: not A HOST OF ZEALOUS ANTITRINITARIANS WHO REJECTED WITH ABHORRENCE THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST'S DIVINITY, as Dr. Priestley and the Barrister most idly and most ignorantly fancy; but simply THOSE NUMEROUS CATECHUMENS, WHO HAD NOT AS YET BEEN INITIATED INTO THE FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THE MYSTERIES OF CHRISTIANITY, AND WHO THENCE OF COURSE WERE IGNORANT OF THE PALMARY DOCTRINES OF THE TRINITY AND THE INCARNATION.

(2.) Such is the result from a full examination of the context of the *first* of the three cited passages. Equally explicit and decisive is the joint context of the evidently parallel *second* and *third* cited passages, which, in point of collocation, stand at no very great distance from each other.

*Thus some, indeed, says Origen in the second of the three cited passages, partake of the Word which was in the beginning, and the Word was with God*

<sup>1</sup> Comment. in Johan. p. 9.



*and the Word was God: as Hosea, and Isaiah, and Jeremiah, or if any other person has set himself forth to be such, as the Word of the Lord, or that the Word came to him. But others, who know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified, even the Word that was made flesh, thinking that this is the whole of the Word, know Christ only according to the flesh. Now this is the multitude of those, who are commonly reckoned to believe*<sup>1</sup>.

In this passage, Origen explains the frequent hebrew phrase of *the Word of the Lord coming to any one of the ancient prophets*, as referring to the personal Word or the second hypostasis of the Trinity: who, by thus coming to his servants, enabled them severally to become, in respect to their delegated office of God's messengers, such, characteristically, as the Word of the Lord himself. And he then intimates: that the multitude of Catechumens, not having as yet been instructed in the recondite doctrine that *The Word was in the beginning with God* and that *The Word was God*, thence, of plain necessity, knew Christ only according to the flesh or in his human nature and capacity.

Having thus penned the second cited passage, the true import of which, like that of the first cited passage, has been so lamentably misunderstood by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, Origen forthwith

<sup>1</sup> Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 49.

proceeds, in the very language of the imitative ecclesiastical Mysteries, to mark out a difference, between THE PROFANE or *the uninitiated Catechumens* on the one hand, and THE JUST or *the baptismally initiated Communicants* on the other hand. To the *former*, heaven is shut; as the doors of the adytum were closed against the profane: to the *latter*, it is open; and there they may behold the self-conspicuous apparition of the divine Word riding in his majesty, as described by the prophet of the Apocalypse <sup>1</sup>.

Then comes the *third* of the three passages, adduced by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister.

*The multitudes of those, who are commonly reckoned to believe, are instructed in the shadow of the Word, and not in the true Word who is in the opened heaven* <sup>2</sup>.

Of this passage, the import is obviously the same, as that of its predecessor. The numerous Catechumens, who are as yet only in a gradual course of religious institution, have hitherto learned nothing, save the general exoteric doctrines of Christianity, or what Origen technically styles *the shadow of the Word*: for, the term of their forty probaptismal days not having arrived, they have thence not been instructed, in what Origen calls *the true Word who is in the opened heaven*, or in the

<sup>1</sup> The *αὐτόπρον ἄγαλμα* of the imitative and adaptative Christian Mysteries.

<sup>2</sup> Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 52.

esoteric doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Holy Trinity.

Next follows a florid description of the apocalyptic rider on the white horse : whose name is *the Word of God*, whose title no one save himself fully comprehends, and whose regal appellation is *King of kings and Lord of lords*. And, immediately after it, we encounter a passage which *cannot* be misunderstood : for it actually describes the knowledge of those more advanced believers, who have at length been baptised, and who have thus been formally initiated into the Christian Mysteries.

*This Word of God*, says the great Alexandrian Catechist, *all the armies, which are in heaven, follow ; acknowledging him as their leader, and in every thing, more especially in their similarly riding upon white horses, imitating him : for all things are placed before THOSE WHO UNDERSTAND. And, as grief and sorrow and groaning flee away at the general consummation : thus likewise, I deem, obscurity and doubt flee away, WHEN ALL THE MYSTERIES OF GOD'S WISDOM ARE CAREFULLY AND UNRESERVEDLY DEVELOPED*<sup>1</sup>.

No doubt, I think, can now be entertained in regard to the true meaning of the three parallel passages, which, by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, have been so unhappily misunderstood and so

<sup>1</sup> For the entire context here discussed, see Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 51—54.

wretchedly misapplied. Throughout the whole, indeed, of Origen's Commentary, which clearly has never been perused either by the Historian or by the Barrister, there are even *perpetual* references to this peculiar system of ecclesiastical discipline, which existed *as a fact*, whatever may be thought of *its inherent merits*<sup>1</sup>. For a long season, the multitude of Catechumens were in-

<sup>1</sup> See Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. pp. 18 B, 25 E, 30 BC, 75 A, 97 A, 125 E, 126 ABCD, 203 AB.

Origen seems occasionally to have had under his charge Catechumens, who rejected, when offered to them, the higher Mysteries of Christianity: for he speaks of the better things being closed to such persons, not from any unwillingness on the part of their appointed instructors, but because they themselves were unwilling to receive them. See Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 51 E.

This statement exactly accords with ecclesiastical history: nor, without it, should we be able to account for the various heresies touching the nature of Christ and the mode of the Deity's existence, which, in despite of the careful catechetical instruction of the first ages, from time to time produced those frequent lamentable separations from the faithful Church Catholic. Presumptuous speculatists either refused to receive the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, which were regularly communicated to the *Competentes* in the course of the forty days previous to their baptism: or, at some subsequent period, they rejected them, after they *had* been received.

Such a rejection, as in the case of Paul of Samosata, was styled *an abjuration of, or an exsiliency from, the Mystery*. Τὸν ἐξορχησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ ἐμπομπεύοντα τῇ μιαιρῇ αἰρέσει τῇ Ἀρτεμῆ. Epist. Episc. Antioch. Concil. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 30.



structed only in the generalities of theology : nor were they admitted to the knowledge of the abstruse doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity, until the arrival of the forty days of Lent which immediately preceded their Baptism.

3. Dr. Priestley, however, and the Barrister after him, are quite sure, that Origen, in the three passages before us, *must* be viewed, as giving direct evidence in favour of the gentile Christians being, at the time when he flourished, generally Antitrinitarians.

For the final settlement, then, of the present matter, let us hear the direct and unequivocal testimony, to the universal belief of the Church that *Christ is one God with the Father*, borne by Origen in certain other parts of his Works.

*WE worship*, says he, speaking plurally on behalf of the Catholic Church in a Treatise professedly controversial: *WE worship ONE GOD, THE FATHER AND THE SON : and this confession remains firmly with us against all others. For, not merely as a person who had recently appeared having had no previous existence, do WE worship the Son : but, on the contrary, WE believe his own declaration ; Before Abraham was, I am.—WE worship, therefore, the Father of the Truth, and the Son who is the Truth ; two in personality, one in concord and symphony and identity of will.—For WE venerate, with supplications and merited prayers, ONE GOD AND HIS ONE SON AND WORD AND IMAGE, to the best of our ability : offering*

*up our petitions unto the God of all things, through his only-begotten Son* <sup>1</sup>.

*Josephus, says he again in another place of the same controversial Treatise, is willing to ascribe the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans to the vengeance of God on account of the murder of James the Just. But may we not more reasonably say, that it happened on account of Jesus the Christ: to WHOSE DIVINITY, so many Churches of those, who have been reclaimed from the puddle of wickedness and who hang upon him as THEIR CREATOR and who refer all things to his good pleasure, bear witness* <sup>2</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> Ἐνα οὖν Θεὸν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, θεραπεύομεν· καὶ μένει ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενῆς λόγος· καὶ οὐ τὸν ἔναγχός γε φανέντα, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑπερθησκεύομεν· αὐτῷ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τῷ εἰπόντι, Πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμι.—Θρησκεύομεν οὖν, τὸν Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοιοῖα καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος.—Τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν, καὶ τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Λόγον καὶ Εἰκόνα, ταῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἰκεσίαις καὶ ἀξιώσεσι σέβομεν, προσάγοντες τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὕλων τὰς εὐχὰς διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ δὲ, καὶ ὡσπερ ἄκων οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἀληθείας γενόμενος, φησὶ ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατ' ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ δικαιοτάτον αὐτὸν ὄντα ἀπέκτειναν.—Εἶπερ οὖν διὰ Ἰακώβου συμβεβηκέναι λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, πῶς οὐχὶ εὐλογώτερον διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦτο φάσκεν γεγονέναι, οὔ τῆς θειότητος μάρτυρες αἱ τοσαῦται τῶν μεταβαλόντων ἀπὸ τῆς χύσεως τῶν κακῶν ἐκκλησίαι, καὶ ἡρτημένων

From three ill-understood passages of Origen, Dr. Priestley and the Barrister fancy themselves to have learned, on the direct testimony of that Father : that, in his days, the great bulk of Christians were zealous Unipersonalists who held the doctrine of Christ's godhead in absolute abhorrence.

Yet, we see, Origen himself, even in a public controversial Treatise, expressly and openly declares : that the entire Catholic Church adored conjointly the Father and the Son, under the precise aspect of their being one God ; that the various provincial Churches, which collectively formed the single Church Catholic, bore witness to the divinity of Christ their acknowledged Creator ; and that, in strict accordance with this system of doctrine, all Christians devoutly believed the preëxistence of their Lord, on the specific ground, according as *they* understood it, of his own positive declaration.

It is difficult to believe, that Origen could have hazarded a public controversial statement of this nature and description, if he had elsewhere freely confessed (which Dr. Priestley and the Barrister assure us is the case) ; that the multitude of Catholics, both were *in* his days, and always had been

*μένων τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, καὶ πάντ' ἀναφερόντων ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀρέσκειαν.* Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 35, 36.

For Dr. Priestley's treatment of Origen, in regard to the adoration of the Son, see below, Append. ii. numb. 3. § II.

*before* his days, strenuous antitrinitarian opponents of the deity of Christ: it is difficult to believe, when a mere naked matter of FACT is concerned, and *that* moreover a FACT of the greatest possible notoriety; that, with needless and foolish gratuitousness, he would be in two directly opposite stories: it is difficult to believe, in short; that he gives any direct evidence in favour of the gentile Christians being generally, at the time when he flourished, what the historian calls *Unitarians*.

Any person, who had even read nothing more of the Works of Origen than his Treatise against Celsus, would immediately conclude: that, on the part of Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, there must have been either some strange misapprehension or some dishonest perversion. And, accordingly, the simple truth of the matter is: that the historian and his incautious follower have each, agreeably to my preceding statement, mistaken THE QUIET UNCONTROVERSIAL MULTITUDES OF JUNIOR CHRISTIAN CATECHUMENS, TO WHOM AS YET THE DOCTRINES OF THE TRINITY AND OF CHRIST'S GODHEAD HAD NOT BEEN COMMUNICATED, FOR A MIGHTY ARMY OF HEREDITARY ANTITRINITARIAN CONFESSORS WITHIN THE PALE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, WHO HAD ALWAYS, IN UNBROKEN SUCCESSION FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, ABHORRED AND REJECTED THE TENET OF THE DEITY OF THE SAVIOUR.



## CHAPTER V.

### RESPECTING THE TESTIMONY OF TERTULLIAN.

---

ORIGEN, we see, promotes the cause of Dr. Priestley, even still less, if that be possible, than Athanasius. But we must not relinquish the historian's *express testimony* as altogether hopeless, until we shall have carefully examined the yet remaining evidence of Tertullian.

This Father flourished, at the end of the second, and at the beginning of the third, century. Hence, if we find *him* bearing witness to the ancient and general and unbroken prevalence of simple Humanitarianism within the pale of the Christian Church, we shall have small reason to regret the defection of the two *later* Fathers Origen and Athanasius.

The passage, adduced by Dr. Priestley from Tertullian, translated as accurately as I am able to translate it, runs as follows.

*For the simple indeed, not to say the imprudent and the unlearned (who always constitute the greater part of believers); since also the very rule of faith leads us away from the numerous gods of the age to*

*the one true God, not understanding, that he is to be believed indeed as one God, but still with his own proper economy; are alarmed at this economy. The number and disposition of the Trinity, they presume to be a division of the Unity: though the Unity, deriving from itself the Trinity, is not destroyed, but administered, by it. Therefore they are now boasting, that two Gods and three Gods are preached by us; while they assume, that they themselves are the worshippers of one God: just as if the Unity, when uneconomically collected, did not produce heresy; and just as if the Trinity, when economically weighed, did not constitute the truth. WE, say they, HOLD THE MONARCHY. And so vocally do even the Latins, even the illiterate, express the sound of this greek word, that you might imagine them to understand the word MONARCHY, as well as to pronounce it. But the Latins study to give the sound of the greek word MONARCHY: and the Greeks are determined not to understand the economy<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Simples enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ (quæ major semper credentium pars est,) quoniam et ipsa regula fidei, a pluribus deis sæculi, ad unicum et verum Deum transfert; non intelligentes, unicum quidem, sed cum sua *οικονομία*, esse credendum, expavescunt ad *οικονομίαν*. Numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt Unitatis; quando Unitas, ex semetipsa derivans Trinitatem, non destruat ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt: quasi non et Unitas, irrationaliter collecta, hæresim. faciat; et Trinitas, rationaliter expensa, veritatem constituat

This passage, Dr. Priestley views, as being, on the part of Tertullian, an unwilling and angry con-

*Μοραρχίαν*, inquit, *tenemus*. Et ita sonum ipsum vocaliter exprimunt etiam Latini, etiam opici, ut putes illos tam bene intelligere *μοραρχίαν*, quàm enunciant. Sed *μοραρχίαν* sonare student Latini: *οικονομίαν* intelligere nolunt etiam Græci. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 2, 3. Oper. p. 406.

I. On my translation of this passage, it may perhaps be useful to offer a few remarks.

1. Tertullian's *irrationaliter* and *rationaliter*, I have rendered by *uneconomically* and *economically*.

The terms, if I mistake not, are technical: and they allude to what, in the course of the present Tractate, Tertullian calls the *ratio œconomix*; by which he means the *orderly arrangement* of persons in the Unity of the Godhead.

Duos quidem definimus Patrem et Filium, et jam tres cum Spiritu Sancto, secundum *rationem œconomix* quæ facit numerum. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 10. Oper. p. 413.

In Tertullian's phraseology, *Irrationaliter collecta* is as much as to say, *Ita collecta ut nullam œconomix rationem habeas*: and *Rationaliter expensa* is equivalent to *Secundum œconomix rationem expensa*.

He uses the same phraseology, with the same reference to orderly arrangement, in his Work against Marcion.

Nulla res *sine ordine* potest *rationalis* vindicari, tanto abest ut *ratio* ipsa in aliquo *ordinem* amittat. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. i. § 16. Oper. p. 161.

2. By *simplices*, Tertullian clearly means *simple-minded and unsuspecting of evil*.

His *simplices*, therefore, were peculiarly liable to be perplexed by the innovating subtleties of Praxeas.

3. The *imprudentes* are, in characteristic description, a step beyond the *simplices*.

I take them to be persons, not only *unsuspecting of evil*, but

fession : that *The majority of believers, within the pale of the Catholic Church, still were in his time, as they always had been from the very beginning,*

unfortunately also *incautious and hasty in taking up a plausible opinion without having well weighed its evidence and its merits.*

4. This conduct is the more reprehensible and mischievous, because they are *idiotæ* or *unlearned*.

Whence, plainly, they are but ill qualified to decide peremptorily on the right interpretation of Scripture.

5. The phrase, *μοναρχίαν sonare*, is, by Dr. Priestley, somewhat ludicrously translated, *to bawl out for the monarchy* : and, in this very peculiar rendering, he has been, as usual, carefully followed by the Barrister.

Yet it may be doubted, whether the expression alludes to any particular strength of lungs possessed by the Latins.

I conceive it rather to mean : that the Latins did not attempt to translate, into their own language, the greek word *μοναρχία*, by any such term (for instance) as *uniregimen* ; but that (just as we English do, when, instead of *single-government*, we say *monarchy*, which we have naturalised from the Greek), in their theological disputes, they used the precise greek word itself untranslated.

Bishop Horsley, more accurately than Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, renders the original : *Latins have caught up the word*  
MONARCHY.

The true import of the phrase is, I believe, that which has been specified.

II. These perhaps are matters of no great consequence, so far as the vitals of the debate are concerned : yet, to the best of our ability, we may as well be accurate as inaccurate.

For the translations of Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, see Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 4. Works, vol. v. p. 41. Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 486, 487. Letters by another Barrister, p. 275.



ZEALOUS ANTITRINITARIANS, WHO SO HELD THE EXCLUSIVE DEITY OF THE FATHER, AS TO REJECT WITH ABHORRENCE THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST'S GODHEAD.

Hence he infers : that his own Creed was the undoubted Creed of the primitive apostolic Church.

For *such persons*, he observes, *as simple and unlearned people, are very likely to retain old opinions : and are always far less subject to innovate, than the learned.*

Let it, then, be particularly borne in mind : that, *According to Dr. Priestley, the Antitrinitarians, censured by Tertullian, were PERSONS WHO DENIED THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.*

This point, as we shall presently find, is a matter of such considerable importance, that I subjoin Dr. Priestley's own precise statement.

*Nothing*, says he, *can be more decisive than the evidence of Tertullian to this purpose : who, in the following passage, which is too plain and circumstantial to be misunderstood by any person, positively asserts, though with much peevishness ; that The Unitarians, WHO HELD THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST IN ABHORRENCE, were the greater part of Christians in his time.*

Then, as proof peremptory of the allegation before us, comes the passage from Tertullian : which I have already given at full length, and which forms the subject of the present discussion <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 485—487.

Thus, from his own unambiguous declaration, it appears: that the historical fact, which, on the strength of the passage now before us, Dr. Priestley undertakes to maintain, is clearly and distinctly the following.

THE UNITARIANS, WHO HELD THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST IN ABHORRENCE, WERE THE GREATER PART OF CHRISTIANS IN THE TIME OF TERTULLIAN.

Such is the historical fact, which Dr. Priestley maintained on the authority of the supposed reluctant confession of the African Father: and such is the historical fact, which is *still* maintained by his successors, if I may judge from a recent statement of the matter by the anonymous Barrister; a statement, wholly borrowed from the previous statement of Dr. Priestley, every argument being industriously repeated, and every error being faithfully retained<sup>1</sup>.

Now it appears to me, unless I entirely misunderstand the purport of their language: that these two writers, the Historian and the Barrister, wish to set forth *three* several propositions, as being fully and undeniably established by the passage in Tertullian; for, in good truth, unless it *does* establish these three several propositions, I am quite at a loss to perceive its appositeness to their purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Letters by another Barrister, p. 104, 105, 275, 276.

The *first* proposition is: that *The majority of believers, within the pale of the Catholic Church and in actual allowed communion with the Catholic Church, were, in the days of Tertullian, zealous and decided Antitrinitarians.*

The *second* proposition is: that *These overwhelmingly numerous catholic Antitrinitarians UTTERLY ABHORRED THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST'S DIVINITY, contending, like the modern Antitrinitarians, for the doctrine of his mere humanity.*

The *third* proposition is: that *The antitrinitarian system of this vast majority of believers within the pale of the Catholic Church was the faith of that Catholic Church from the very beginning; for the doctrine, advocated by Tertullian, was a mere speculative innovation, which confessedly met with small acceptance among the honest and simple-minded majority.*

These are the *three* propositions, set forth in the argument of Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, and involved in the alleged historical fact which they have undertaken to maintain.

That *Every one of them, so far as the evidence of Tertullian is concerned, advances a direct falsehood: it requires small exertion to demonstrate.*

I. The first of the three propositions, supposed to be established by the passage in Tertullian, is: that *The majority of believers, within the pale of the Catholic Church and in actual allowed communion with the Catholic Church, were, in the days*

of Tertullian, zealous and decided Antitrinitarians.

1. By the disciples of the modern Unipersonal School, on the authority of Dr. Priestley, no assertion has ever been made more repeatedly or more confidently, than that which is now before us. Yet, so far as the evidence of Tertullian is concerned upon which it professes to repose, no assertion was ever more totally devoid of truth. With all the care and attention which I can command, I have again and again perused the passage adduced in support of the present assertion: but I can discover nothing like the angry confession, which has been so triumphantly attributed to Tertullian.

The African Father does NOT say: that *The majority of believers, IN HIS OWN TIME, shuddered at the doctrine of the Trinity*; as, by one humanitarian writer after another, from Dr. Priestley down to the Barrister, he has been confidently exhibited as confessing.

But he says: that *The majority of believers are ALWAYS ignorant and illiterate men; and that those, who took fright at the economy, were of this particular class of individuals*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In his own precise words, Tertullian's statement is this.

Imprudentes et idiotæ, quæ major SEMPER credentium pars est, expavescunt ad οἰκονομίαν.

When thrown out of its accidental relative form, the clause will, of course, run as follows.

Imprudentes



Tertullian's remark, so strangely distorted by Dr. Priestley and his followers, merely propounds one of those general truths, which are equally predicable of *all* ages. In the days of Tertullian, in the days before Tertullian, in the days of our fathers, in our own days, in *every* period of ecclesiastical history, ignorant and illiterate men must ALWAYS of very necessity constitute an immense majority of believers. The remark, or (if it please

Imprudentes et idiotæ major SEMPER credentium pars est. Imprudentes autem et idiotæ expavescunt ad οἰκονομίαν.

While speaking of the great majority of believers, Tertullian says not a syllable respecting HIS OWN TIME *in particular* : his expression, as the subject plainly required, is the *generalising* ALWAYS.

As little does he say ; that *The majority of his believing contemporaries shuddered at the doctrine of the Trinity*. He merely states ; that *The majority of believers is ALWAYS composed of ignorant and illiterate and rashly presumptuous men* : and then he adds ; that *Individuals of this class, who are obviously the most liable to be imposed upon and thence prematurely to form a hasty judgment, through the suggestions of Praxeas suddenly took fright at the economy*.

From the very plain statement of Tertullian now before us, Dr. Priestley has learned : that *The Unitarians, who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence, were the greater part of Christians in his time*.

Nay more : he actually declares ; that such, though with much peevishness, is the positive assertion of Tertullian *himself*. And he crowns all, by gravely assuring us : that nothing can be more decisive, than the evidence of Tertullian to this purpose ; and that the passage, which I have given above, is too plain and circumstantial to be misunderstood by any person.

Dr. Priestley and the Barrister so to denominate it) *the peevish confession*, is very true and very trite. Tertullian is led to make it : not as *conceding* any thing, which might seem to be *extorted* from him ; but merely to account for the circumstance, that some simple men in his time were terrified at the doctrine of the Trinity, lest it should appear to carry them back to gentile Polytheism. They were simple men : nay more, they were imprudent and unlearned, such as the majority of believers, in *every* age and in *every* country, must ALWAYS be. Hence, what better informed men would not have been equally liable to, they were easily terrified by the abstract difficulties suggested to them in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity. As to the *number* of these terrified illiterates, Tertullian, in the present passage, is wholly silent. They might be *few*, or they might be *many*. All, that he *here* intimates respecting them, is : that they were simple unlearned men, such as must ALWAYS constitute a great majority of believers ; and that the panic had seized some persons of this quality and description among both the Greeks and the Latins.

Such is the general remark of Tertullian, conveyed in terms, than which nothing can be more clear and explicit. But I vainly seek for the *peevish confession*, which modern Unipersonalists have gratuitously forced into his mouth : that *The majority of his believing contemporaries, within the*

*pale of the Catholic Church, were zealous and decided Antitrinitarians.*

In truth, one might well have imagined, that the very word ALWAYS, here employed by Tertullian, would have effectually prevented the possibility of error.

*Imprudent and unlearned men*, says he, when his words are thrown out of their accidentally relative form: *Imprudent and unlearned men are ALWAYS the greater part of believers.*

Thus speaks Tertullian: yet, by way of proping up the cause of Antitrinitarianism, a *general* proposition is, first, transmuted into a *particular* proposition; and, next, the recently manufactured *particular* proposition is metamorphosed into quite *another* proposition of a wholly different purport.

Through the agency of such extraordinary management, Tertullian, could he look out of his grave, would be sorely puzzled to recognise his own literary offspring.

For, in the plastic hands of Dr. Priestley, the African's *real and very simple* proposition; IMPRUDENT AND UNLEARNED MEN *are, ALWAYS, the greater part of believers*: becomes, most unexpectedly, the *entirely different* proposition; IN THE TIME OF TERTULLIAN, *the greater part of believers were* UNITARIANS WHO HELD THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST IN ABHORRENCE.

Let only Tertullian's ALWAYS be transmuted into



Dr. Priestley's IN THE TIME OF TERTULLIAN ; and let Tertullian's IMPRUDENT AND UNLEARNED MEN be metamorphosed into Dr. Priestley's UNITARIANS WHO HELD THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST IN ABHORRENCE : and the establishment of the proposition, which the English Historian maintains on the authority of the African Father, will be full and complete.

I have only to add, that, on the strength of the identical clause now before us, Dr. Priestley, not *once* only, but even REPEATEDLY, describes Tertullian as confessing : that *The greater part of believers, in his time, were Unipersonalists who rejected with abhorrence the doctrine of Christ's divinity* <sup>1</sup>.

2. The matter, we might reasonably think, is quite plain from the very language adopted by Tertullian : and the only wonder is, how he could ever have been so singularly misapprehended and so marvellously misrepresented. But, should any antitrinitarian writer be still hardy enough to advocate the strange gloss of the historian, let him hear the learned Father unambiguously declare : that, so far from the majority of his believing contemporaries symbolising with Dr. Priestley, the worship of the second person of the Holy Trinity

<sup>1</sup> See Hist. of Corrupt. part. i. sect. 4. Works, vol. v. p. 41. Letters to Bp. Horsley, part ii. lett. 7. Works, vol. xviii. p. 191. Hist. of Early Opin. book i. chap. 4. sect. 5. Works, vol. vi. p. 140. Ibid. Conclus. sect. 4. Works, vol. vii. p. 190.



as very God was universally prevalent in every country where the Gospel was planted.

*If, says he, Solomon reigned, but only within the limits of Palestine: in that case, the boundaries of his kingdom reached no further than from Beersheba to Dan. If Darius reigned over the Babylonians and the Persians: still he had no power beyond them, nor did he reign over all nations. The same remark equally applies to Pharaoh, to Nebuchadnezzar, to Alexander the Great, nay even to the Romans. But the kingdom and name of Christ are every where extended: every where is he believed in: BY ALL THE ABOVE MENTIONED NATIONS IS HE WORSHIPPED: every where he reigns: EVERY WHERE HE IS ADORED: every where to all he is equally distributed. With him, a king has no præëminent favour: neither does he specially exult in the submission of some imperious barbarian: nor yet does he pay any peculiar respect to high official rank or to splendid nobility of birth. To all he is equal: to all he is a king: to all he is their judge: TO ALL HE IS GOD AND LORD <sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Nam, si Salomon regnavit; sed in finibus Judæ tantum: a Beersabia usque Dan, termini ejus regni signantur.—Christi autem regnum et nomen ubique porrigitur. Ubique creditur: ab omnibus gentibus supra enumeratis colitur: ubique regnat: ubique adoratur: omnibus ubique tribuitur æqualiter: non regis apud illum major gratia: non barbari alicujus imperiosi lætitia: non dignitatum aut natalium discreta merita. Omnibus, æqualis: omnibus, rex: omnibus, judex: omnibus, Deus et Dominus est. Tertull. adv. Jud. de regn. Christ. ætern. Oper. p. 126, 127.

Few persons, I think, when they have read this explicit assertion of a naked HISTORICAL FACT, which, if false, would have been forthwith contradicted, will incline to believe: that Tertullian elsewhere, as Dr. Priestley assures us, *positively declares, though with much peevishness, that the Unitarians, who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence, were the GREATER PART OF CHRISTIANS IN HIS TIME* <sup>1</sup>.

For the distinct attestation of Tertullian; that, both in his own time, and likewise from the very beginning, the doctrine of the Trinity, no less than the doctrine of Christ's godhead, had been universally received as the undoubted faith of the Apostles: see above, book i. chap. 6. § v.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 486.

Even in the very Treatise whence Dr. Priestley professes to have learned this extraordinary circumstance, namely the Treatise against Praxeas, Tertullian actually assures us: that the great collective body of his plain fellow-believers, as the sweeping word *NOSTRORUM* obviously imports, were accustomed, in simplicity of interpretation, to say; that *The Word was with God in the beginning*.

Jam in usu est *NOSTRORUM*, per simplicitatem interpretationis, *Sermonem-dicere in primordio apud Deum fuisse*. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 3. Oper. p. 407.

By the existence of the Word with God in the beginning, they doubtless understood, as Tertullian himself understood, *the eternal existence of Christ or the divine Word with God the Father*.

Sermo ergo et in Patre SEMPER, sicut dixit; *Ego in Patre: et apud Deum SEMPER, sicut scriptum est; Et Sermo erat apud Deum*. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 6. Oper. p. 409.

Tertullian himself, indeed, from the circumstance of the greek

II. The second proposition, deduced from the passage now before us, is : that *The overwhelming majority of catholic Antitrinitarians so peevishly stigmatised by the irascible Father, UTTERLY ABHORRED THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST'S DIVINITY ; contending, like the modern Antitrinitarians, for the doctrine of his mere humanity.*

1. Whatever may be the credit which Dr. Priestley has obtained among his own followers as a faithful historian of the manifold *Corruptions of Christianity*, this second proposition is not a whit more true than its predecessor.

To the citer nothing is more dangerous, and to the unlearned or incautious reader nothing is more mischievous, than the naked quotation of a

term *Λόγος* denoting both *Word* and *Reason*, thinks fit to refine upon the phraseology of St. John : for he argues ; that, in strict propriety of speech, we ought to say, that *the Reason was eternally with God prior to the creation of the world ; and that the same Reason, in the superadded character of the Word, was prolatively or (as Athenagoras speaks) energetically with God, when the world was created.* But, nevertheless, he distinctly tells us : that OUR PEOPLE, or the great collective body of his fellow-believers, rested in that simplicity or obviousness of interpretation, by which they understood that Christ or the divine Word was with God in the beginning.

Yet, with this attestation looking him full in the face, does Dr. Priestley, on the alleged authority of this identical Tertullian speaking in this identical Tractate, assure us : that *The great majority or the bulk of Christians, in the time of that Father, were Unitarians, who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence.*



passage without attending to its general context and bearing.

The anonymous Barrister, who has recently taken up and in full confidence stated the antitrinitarian view of the place in Tertullian, clearly and indisputably has never examined the Tractate in which the place itself is contained : but, without giving himself any further trouble, both passage and translation and exposition he has alike implicitly borrowed from his great master Dr. Priestley.

Hence it seems not once to have occurred to him ; that the Antitrinitarians, whom Tertullian censured and whom the historian has rapidly set down as an incalculable majority of believers within the pale of the Catholic Church at the close of the second century, might peradventure have been disciples of a *totally different* School from that to which he himself belongs : but, quite as a thing of course, with all the credulity of soon satisfied ignorance, he notes them in his book to be palpably and indubitably *his own*.

Every word, in his whole statement of the matter, shews with perfect clearness : that he supposes these ancient Antitrinitarians to be the genuine doctrinal forefathers of the modern Antitrinitarians. That is to say, he supposes these ancient Antitrinitarians to be *men, who so maintained the exclusive divinity of the Father as to assert the mere humanity of Christ*.



This remark, on the Barrister's opinion implicitly adopted from Dr. Priestley, equally applies to various other recent publications of the same School. Their authors, so far as I have happened to notice, profess themselves content to symbolise in doctrine with Tertullian's simple illiterates: and are willing to leave the mysteries of Christ's godhead and the Trinity, to that learned innovator and his philosophical associates.

Into such an opinion they have doubtless been universally led by their too implicit confidence in the historical accuracy of Dr. Priestley.

That very unsafe guide, whom they hastily suppose to have been careful in examining the context of the passage, had, on the alleged authority of Tertullian's peevish confession, assured them: that THE UNITARIANS, WHO HELD THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST IN ABHORRENCE, WERE THE GREATER PART OF CHRISTIANS IN HIS TIME <sup>1</sup>.

So, *in his own proper words* (for, without the alteration of a letter, I am careful to give the diligent historian's *own proper words*), Dr. Priestley had *assured* them: and, as they entertained no doubt of his strict veracity, so, without further examination, they were content to *believe*.

2. Yet, after all, who, in truth, *were* these simple illiterates, thus highly extolled as the very

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 13. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 486.

mirror of unbroken primitive orthodoxy, and thus confidently adduced as perfectly in doctrine symbolising with themselves, by Dr. Priestley and his readily acquiescent followers?

That the illiterates in question were seized with a panic on account of the supposed consequences which they had been taught to view as flowing from the doctrine of the Trinity, is indeed, from the passage, most abundantly evident: but, that, in their zeal for the exclusive honour of the Father, they maintained the bare humanity of Jesus Christ (as the Antitrinitarians of the present day, on the authority of their favourite historian, seem much too hastily to have taken for granted), is by no means equally certain. Without its context, the insulated passage merely states the FACT: that they *were* Antitrinitarians<sup>1</sup>. On the precise

<sup>1</sup> For this FACT, the anonymous Barrister professes himself *much obliged to the learned Father*. Lett. p. 276.

The obligation, I suspect, will turn out to be not more overpowering than the Barrister's acquaintance with the hebrew tongue.

I am not so unreasonable, as to assert: that a knowledge of the ancient language of Israel is, in any wise, essential to the *supellex* of an accomplished lawyer, whether his practice be in the ordinary courts or in the peculiar court of Chancery. But I certainly *do* think: that, anterior to the gratuitous enactment of a hebrew critic, the hebrew tongue *itself* ought, as a preparatory step, at least to have been *learned*, if not profoundly *studied*.

I. In order to nullify the proof of Christ's godhead, derived from the circumstance of his being called in Scripture both GOD

NATURE of their Antitrinitarianism, it throws no light : and this unlucky circumstance, united with

and JEHOVAH, the Barrister teaches us : that *Nothing is more common, than for mere men among the ancient Israelites to bear alike each of those two appellations.*

Whence he concludes : that, by establishing too much, the alleged proof destroys itself.

For, if it establish the divinity of *Christ* : it will equally establish the divinity of various ancient *Israelites*.

To this criticism of the anonymous Barrister, as the reply is obvious, so it appears abundantly sufficient.

In Scripture, *Christ* is called both GOD and JEHOVAH, *simply* or *uncompoundedly* : whereas no ancient Israelite ever bore either the name of GOD or the name of JEHOVAH, save *complexly* or *compoundedly*.

Thus, if a prophet bears the appellation of *Elijah*, the literal import of which is *Jah is my God* : we do not appear *thence* to have any very cogent demonstration of that prophet's divinity.

Whereas, if the same individual, *simply* or *uncompoundedly*, had, like our Lord Jesus Christ, been denominated GOD or JEHOVAH : I see not, how we could have avoided drawing the identical inference respecting *him*, which, under parallel circumstances, we now draw respecting the *Messiah*.

II. Here, however, the Barrister is prepared to meet us, even on our own avowed principle.

*The father of Elihu, one of Job's friends, says he, was called BARACHIEL : meaning THE VERY GOD.* Such being the case, we have a pregnant instance of *a confessedly mere man*, bearing, in the strongest form possible, the absolute undisguised and undissembled appellation of *the alone Deity himself*.

Perhaps it is scarcely worth my while to observe ; that *Barachel*, not *Barachiel*, was the name of the father of Elihu : for, in point of import, the two names do not materially differ.



a servile reliance on the accuracy of Dr. Priestley, has led more than one modern Antitrinitarian into a very extraordinary mistake.

The simple illiterates, who according to the historian of *Early Opinions*, HELD THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST IN ABHORRENCE, were, in reality, the disciples of Praxeas, against whom Tertullian writes the Treatise whence the passage has been extracted.

Antitrinitarians these men undoubtedly *were*: but then their Antitrinitarianism, instead of being

I am concerned with the much graver question of the Barrister's proposed interpretation.

BARACHIEL OR BARACHEL, he assures us, when rendered into English, denotes THE VERY GOD.

Now where did the Barrister learn the extraordinary glosical fact: that THE VERY GOD is the import either of BARACHIEL or of BARACHEL?

For the attainment of this most unexpected information, did he study Hebrew, under the auspices of a Jewish Rabbi, or under the fostering care of a Gentile Preceptor?

*The father of Elihu, one of Job's friends, was called BARACHIEL: meaning THE VERY GOD!*

Then, resting on the shoulders of this unparalleled criticism, comes the effectual demolition of a long supposed decisive proof of our Lord's essential divinity!

For the benefit of those good-natured individuals who deem the Barrister *unanswerable* (and, that some such persons actually exist, I have been credibly informed), I think it right to state, what any tyro in the Hebrew would teach him: that BARACHEL denotes GOD HATH BLESSED; while BARACHIEL, if the name were ever used, would signify GOD HATH BLESSED ME. See Letters by another Barrist. p. 32, 132, 133, 135.



built upon THE DENIAL OR (as Dr. Priestley speaks) THE ABHORRENCE OF CHRIST'S DIVINITY for the purpose of more effectually honouring the Father, was, in truth, built upon its complete opposite THE VEHEMENT ASSERTION OF CHRIST'S EXCLUSIVE DIVINITY UNDER THE ASPECT OF HIS BEING AN INCARNATION OF THE SOLE UNIPERSONAL GODHEAD.

Like their master Praxeas, who had followers, it appears, both among the Greeks and among the Latins, the illiterates contended : that Christ was not only the same *God*, but the same *person* also, as the Father and the Holy Ghost. They maintained : that, when we read of *Father* and *Son* and *Spirit*, each plainly (as they allowed) described as very God ; we are thence to conclude, not that there are three distinct *persons* in one essential Deity, but that God who exists in naked and monoproscopic unity is described to us under three several *appellations*. This one God, thus distinguished by three names, and thus existing not as three persons but as one person, appeared upon earth, in a human form, as the Lord Jesus Christ. For the one person of the one God, under his name of *the Holy Ghost*, obumbrated the blessed Virgin : the same one person of the same one God, under his appellation of *the Father*, became incarnate from the womb of Mary thus obumbrated by himself : and still the same one person of the same one God, under his title of *the Son*, being found in fashion as a man, through the incarnate union of

the divine nature of the Father with the human nature of Jesus Christ, suffered death on the cross for the peculiar expiation of our transgressions in order that he might thus make satisfaction to his own offended attribute of justice.

Hence Praxeas and his followers, who (according to Tertullian) were mainly found among the simple and the illiterate; as they contended for the *personal* identity of the Father and the Son and the Spirit, and as they held that the single person of God (denominated *the Father*, as well as *the Son* and *the Spirit*) suffered death incarnate on the cross: for these reasons, Praxeas and his followers were styled *Patripassians* or *persons who held the passion of the Father*.

The doctrine, in short, of these ancient Antitrinitarians, to set it in full contrast with that of our modern Antitrinitarians, was this.

Instead of *so maintaining the exclusive deity of the Father as to assert the bare humanity of Christ*, like Dr. Priestley and the anonymous Barrister and all others of the same School: they *maintained, that the one true God, existing in the unity of a single person, became incarnate in the true man Christ Jesus*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps I may here be permitted to put a few questions, both to the admirers of the late Dr. Priestley, and likewise to the anonymous Barrister.

I. With the Works of Tertullian open before him, Dr.

3. With such information relative to the true character of the antitrinitarian illiterates censured

Priestley has made two assertions, of which I should be glad to hear some further account.

1. Respecting Tertullian himself, he asserts : that *He speaks of the common people, as SIMPLE UNITARIANS.* Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap 17. Works, vol. vii. p. 33.

By *The common people*, Dr. Priestley means, no doubt, not *A few straggling perverted individuals of that class* ; but *The whole christian common people collectively* : and, by *Simple Unitarians*, he clearly means, not *Arians* or *Sabellians* ; but, as he himself explains his own phrase, *Unitarians who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence, or Persons who so held the exclusive divinity of the Father as to deny the divinity of Christ.*

Now I should feel it an obligation, if any admirer of his two Histories would inform me : WHERE it is, that Tertullian speaks of *the common people* as being collectively *simple Unitarians* ?

2. There is another assertion, which, like his last, Dr. Priestley avowedly makes on the authority of Tertullian.

*This new term ECONOMY, it appears, was not well understood or easily relished by those who called themselves the advocates for THE MONARCHY OF THE FATHER : a term, much used in those days, to denote the supremacy and sole divinity of the Father in opposition to that of the Son.* Hist. of Corrupt. part. i. sect. 4. Works, vol. v. p. 41.

I shall be thankful to learn : WHERE it is, that Tertullian ever introduces that alleged well known term, THE MONARCHY OF THE FATHER, as the current phraseology of the Antitrinitarians whom he is censuring ; under the precise asserted aspect, that, in those days, *the term was much used to denote THE SUPREMACY AND SOLE DIVINITY OF THE FATHER IN OPPOSITION TO THAT OF CHRIST ?*

And



by Tertullian, we are abundantly furnished : both by the immediate context of the passage *itself*, now

And I shall be yet additionally thankful to learn : how ECONOMY, as used in reference to the incarnate divinity of the second person of the Trinity, could, in the days of Tertullian or about the year 200, be a *new* term ; when the *same* term, in the *same* sense, had *already* been used, both by Justin and by Ignatius, nearly seventy years and nearly one hundred years *earlier* than the time of the alleged novelty-manufacturer Tertullian ? Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 204, 258. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § xviii.

II. The anonymous Barrister, whose intimacy with the writings of Tertullian and Origen may rival that of Dr. Priestley himself, is exactly in the same story with his master.

*Origen knew full well : that, had he ventured to speak out, like Tertullian, to the mixed multitude of greek Christians with whom he was conversant ; he would have heard their voices raised as loudly in favour of THE MONARCHY OF THE FATHER, as Tertullian had heard the voices of the Latins. He, therefore, took a more prudent course.* Letters, p. 281.

1. I should be obliged to the Barrister, if he would inform me : WHERE he learned the asserted historical fact ; that *Tertullian heard the voices of the Latins raised loudly in favour of THE MONARCHY OF THE FATHER, according to the sense, which he himself, after Dr. Priestley, annexes to the phrase ?*

2. I should be yet further obliged to the Barrister, if he would inform me : WHERE he learned, that *Origen knew full well the matter, which he liberally gives him the credit of knowing ?*

With respect to the *more prudent course* asserted to have been taken by Origen, if, for the accurate information of modern Unipersonalists, the Barrister *really* wishes to ascertain the mode in which the learned Alexandrian Catechist *spoke out to the mixed multitude of greek Christians with whom he was*



under consideration ; by *other* passages, which occur in the course of the same Treatise against Praxeas whence that passage has been extracted ; and likewise by the express attestation of the ancient writer of the Supplement to Tertullian's well known Tractate against Heretics.

(1.) Let us first attend to the immediate context of the passage itself now under consideration.

*Variouſly has the devil emulated the truth. Sometimes, even by defending it, he has tried to ſhake it.*

*conversant*, I would adviſe him to advert to the actual public Homilies of that painful preacher. Let him take, for inſtance, the following ſpecimen, which I the rather ſelect : partly, becauſe it diſtinctly ſets forth the two-fold nature of Chriſt, divine and human ; and partly becauſe it reminds the mixed multitude of greek Chriſtians with whom Origen was *conversant*, that ſuch was his HABITUAL mode of addreſſing them from the pulpit.

Οὐχὶ ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Σωτὴρ λέγει τὸ, Οἶμοι ἐγὼ μήτηρ· ἀλλ' ἡ ἀνθρωπος.—Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀνθρωπίνη ἦν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τετάραται, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περίλυπος ἦν. Ὁ δὲ Λόγος, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, οὐ τετάραται ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἂν λέγων τὸ, Οἶμοι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος ἐπιδέχεται θάνατον· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινόν ἐſτι τὸ τοῦτο ἐπιδεξάμενον, ΩΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ. Orig. Homil. in Jerem. xiv. Oper. vol. i. p. 136.

*The words, Alas me my mother, the Saviour ſpeaks, not as God, but as man.—His ſoul was that of a man : therefore he was diſturbed ; therefore alſo he was ſore grieved. But the Word, who was in the beginning with God, is not diſturbed : nor does he uſe the expreſſion, Alas ! For the Word is incapable of enduring death : but, AS WE HAVE OFTENTIMES PROPOUNDED TO YOU, it was the human ſoul which endured it.*

*Thus, to the one Omnipotent Lord, he assigns indeed the attribute of Creator : but yet he so assigns it, that from the very unity of God he may elicit heresy. For he says : that the Father HIMSELF descended into the Virgin, was HIMSELF born from her, did HIMSELF suffer ; in fine, was HIMSELF Jesus Christ.—*

*This strange modification of perverseness was first, by Praxeas, transplanted out of Asia into Roman ground.—He banished the Paraclete, and crucified the Father.*

*Moreover, the tares of Praxeas, here also disseminated, had not failed to produce fruit, while many were sleeping in simplicity of doctrine : yet, being removed hence by the agency of him whom God willed, they seemed to be even eradicated.—But those tares had then every where shaken out their seed. Hence, through hypocrisy, it lay hid for a time in crafty vivaciousness : and now, at length, it has once more broken out.—*

*The Father then, forsooth, was born after time ! The Father suffered ! The Lord God Omnipotent himself is preached as Jesus Christ !—*

*Yet, in the case of those who have been thus perverted, we ought also to give room for retractations : for let not any perverseness seem to be condemned without examination ; least of all, this, which claims to possess unmixed truth, while it thinks, that The one God is no otherwise to be believed, than if it should pronounce the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to be one and the same person.—*

*For the simple indeed, not to say the imprudent and the unlearned (who always constitute the greater part of believers); since also the very rule of faith leads us away from the numerous gods of the age to the one true God, not understanding, that he is to be believed indeed as one God, but still with his own proper economy; are alarmed at this economy. The number and disposition of the Trinity, they presume to be a division of the Unity: though the Unity, deriving from itself the Trinity, is, by it, not destroyed, but administered. Therefore they are now boasting, that two Gods and three Gods are preached by us; while they assume, that they themselves are the worshippers of only one God: just as if the Unity, when uneconomically collected did not produce heresy; and as if the Trinity, when economically weighed, did not constitute the truth. WE, say they, HOLD THE MONARCHY. And so vocally do even the Latins, even the illiterate, express the sound of this Greek word, that you might imagine them to understand the word MONARCHY, as well as to pronounce it. But the Latins study to give the sound of the Greek word MONARCHY: and the Greeks are determined not to understand the economy<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Variè diabolus æmulatus est veritatem. Adfectavit illam, aliquando defendendo, concutere. Unicum Dominum vindicat omnipotentem mundi creatorem, ut et de unico hæresim faciat. Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in virginem; ipsum ex ea natum; ipsum passum; denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum.



(2.) Let us next attend to certain other passages, which occur in the course of the same Treatise against Praxeas, whence Dr. Priestley and the Barrister have learned : that, in the time of Tertullian, an immense majority of catholic believers symbolised in doctrine with our modern Antitrinitarians.

*Behold, I assert : that THE FATHER IS ONE PERSON ; AND THE SON, ANOTHER PERSON ; AND THE SPIRIT, ANOTHER PERSON. Forthwith, each illiterate or perverted individual takes this language in bad part : as if it expressed diversity, and as if from diversity it protended the separation of the Father and the Son and the Spirit. But I say this through necessity : since they, adulating the Monarchy in opposition to*

Næ iste primus ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit Romanæ humo.—Paracletum fugavit : et Patrem crucifixit.—

Fructicaverant avenæ Praxianæ, hic quoque superseminatæ, dormientibus multis in simplicitate doctrinæ : traductæ dehinc per quem Deus voluit, etiam evulsæ videbantur.—Avenæ vero illæ ubique tunc semen excusserant. Ita aliquamdiu per hypocrisin, subdola vivacitate, latitavit : et nunc denuo erupit.—

Itaque post tempus Pater natus, et Pater passus ! Ipse Deus Dominus omnipotens Jesus Christus prædicatur !—

Ubique tamen, propter instructionem et munitionem quorundam, dandus est etiam retractantibus locus : vel ne videatur unaquæque perversitas, non examinata, sed præjudicata, damnari ; maximè hæc, quæ se existimat meram veritatem possidere, dum unicum Deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum eundemque et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum dicat. Tertull. adv. Prax. Oper. p. 404—406.



*the Economy, contend; that THE FATHER AND THE SON AND THE SPIRIT ARE PERSONALLY IDENTICAL. I mean, however, only: that, BY DISTRIBUTION, NOT BY DIVERSITY, THE SON IS ANOTHER FROM THE FATHER*<sup>1</sup>.

*Christ cannot but be, EITHER the Father, OR the Son: for the one or the other of these two persons he MUST be. And neither are the day and the night the same: neither are the Father and the Son the same, so that they BOTH should be ONE PERSON, and that EITHER should be BOTH, as these vain Monarchists contend. HE HIMSELF MADE HIMSELF A SON TO HIMSELF, say they. Nevertheless, by the very necessity of language, FATHER implies SON: and SON implies FATHER. And they, who partake of either relation, can in no wise be so constituted TO themselves BY themselves: so that the Father should make himself a Son to himself, and that the Son should make himself a Father to himself*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ecce enim dico: alium esse Patrem; et, alium, Filium; et, alium, Spiritum. Malè accepit idiotæ quisque, aut perversus, hoc dictum: quasi diversitatem sonet; et, ex diversitate, separationem protendat Patris et Filii et Spiritûs. Necessitate, autem, hoc dico; cum eundem Patrem et Filium et Spiritum contendunt, adversus οἰκονομίαν monarchiæ adulantes: non tamen, diversitate, alium Filium a Patre; sed distributione. Tertull. adv. Prax. Oper. p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Ita aut Pater aut Filius est: et neque dies eadem et nox, neque Pater idem et Filius, ut sint ambo unus et utrumque alter; quod vanissimi isti monarchianæ volunt. *Ipsæ se, inquit, Filium sibi fecit.* At quin pater filium facit: et patrem, filius. Et qui, ex alterutro fiunt, a semetipsis sibi fieri nullo

(3.) Lastly, in full establishment of the real sentiments of those ancient Antitrinitarians, who, by a professed historian, are declared to have *held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence*, let us hear the attestation of the old supplementer to Tertullian's Tractate against Heretics.

*After all these, a certain Praxeas also introduced a heresy, which Victorinus laboured to corroborate. He asserted: that JESUS CHRIST IS GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY. He contended: that THIS PERSON SUFFERED AND WAS CRUCIFIED. He propounded, moreover, with profane and sacrilegious temerity: that, HAVING DIED, HE HIMSELF SAT DOWN AT HIS OWN RIGHT HAND* <sup>1</sup>.

4. Thus, if I mistake not, we have evidence the most explicit and direct: that the Antitrinitarians, censured by Tertullian, so far from *holding in abhorrence the doctrine of Christ's divinity*, actually maintained the precisely opposite tenet, that *Christ exclusively was the sole unipersonal God incarnate*.

This singular speculation produced of course the following doctrinal difference between the an-

modo possunt, ut Pater se sibi Filium faciat, et Filius se sibi Patrem præstet. Tertull. adv. Prax. Oper. p. 410.

<sup>1</sup> Post hos omnes Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus corroborare curavit. Hic Deum Patrem omnipotentem Jesum Christum esse dicit: hunc crucifixum passumque contendit: mortuum præterea seipsum sibi sedere ad dexteram suam, cum profana et sacrilega temeritate, proponit. Suppl. in Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 22. Oper. p. 117.

cient Catholics and the censured patripassian Antitrinitarians.

The Catholics held : that the one Deity exists in three persons ; the second of which three persons became incarnate in Christ.

The Patripassians held : that the one Deity exists only in one person, variously denominated *the Father* and *the Son* and *the Spirit* ; which one person similarly became incarnate in Christ.

Hence the Catholics held : that Christ, though truly man according to one of his two natures, is, according to the other of his two natures, truly, yet not exclusively, God.

While the Patripassians held : that Christ, though truly man according to one of his two natures, is, according to the other of his two natures, God, not only truly, but exclusively likewise <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The precise doctrine, taught by Praxeas in the second century, was maintained by Noëtus in the third century. Hippolytus, who wrote against this latter heresiarch and his followers, briefly propounds their system in manner following.

‘Ορᾶτε, ἀδελφοί, πῶς προπετέες καὶ τολμηρὸν δόγμα παρεισήνεγκαν, ἀναισχύντως λέγοντες· Αὐτός ἐστι Χριστός ὁ Πατήρ, αὐτὸς Υἱός, αὐτὸς ἐγεννήθη, αὐτὸς ἔπαθεν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἤγειρεν. Hippol. cont. Noet. § iii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 7. Hamburg. 1716.

The same doctrine was also taught by Sabellius. With reference to this last heresiarch, Augustine has given so valuable a comment on John x. 30, that I cannot refrain from subjoining it.

Audi, quomodo credas Patrem et Filium. Audi ipsum Filium : *Ego et Pater unum sumus*. Non dixit : *Pater ego*



III. The third proposition, supposed to be established by the passage in Tertullian, is : that *the Antitrinitarian system of the illiterates, so indignantly censured by the African Father, was in truth the faith of the Catholic Church from the very beginning ; while the doctrine of Tertullian himself was a mere speculative innovation, which confessedly met with small acceptance among the honest and simple-minded majority.*

1. It is probable, that, by this time, the modern Antitrinitarian will entertain no great zeal for the establishment of the present proposition.

The reason is obvious. If the Antitrinitarian system of Tertullian's illiterates could be shewn to have been the faith of the Catholic Church from

*sum : aut Ego et Pater unum est. Sed, cum dicit ; Ego et Pater unum sumus : utrumque audi, et UNUM et SUMUS ; et a Charybdi et a Scylla liberaberis. In duobus istis verbis, quod dixit UNUM, liberat te ab Ario : quod dixit SUMUS, liberat te a Sabellio. Si UNUM ; non, ergo, diversum : si SUMUS ; ergo, et Pater et Filius. SUMUS, enim, non diceret de uno : sed et UNUM non diceret de diversis. August. in Johan. Tract. xxxvi. Oper. vol. ix. p. 99.*

WE, said our Lord, *namely I and the Father, are ONE.* Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ EN ΕΣΜΕΝ.

Since he singularly said ONE : the doctrine of Arius must be false ; because that doctrine would make the substance of the Son to be *different* from the substance of the Father.

Since he plurally said WE : the doctrine of Sabellius must be false ; because that doctrine would make the Father and the Son and the Spirit to be nothing more than three variously descriptive titles of *one single* person.



the very beginning : it would be quite clear, that *modern* Antitrinitarianism was NOT the primitive faith of the Christian Church. For the illiterates vehemently contended for the *exclusive divinity* of Christ : whereas modern Antitrinitarians no less vehemently contend for his *mere humanity*. Hence, even if, from the present passage in Tertullian, Dr. Priestley *could* have established ; that the faith of the censured illiterates was the faith of the Catholic Church from the very beginning : he would only, by such an operation, so far as *he himself* was concerned, have given a most effectual death-blow to *his own* system.

Happily, however, the testimony of the learned African needs not to give our modern Antitrinitarians the slightest alarm : for, whatever might be the faith of the earliest Church, it certainly was *not* that of the Patripassians.

That these unlettered objectors to the Economy were, so far as the apostolic age is concerned, *mere novel upstarts* : is quite clear from the whole account of the matter, as given by Tertullian.

Their panic in regard to the Trinity, which has been strangely converted into an argument to prove *the apostolic origination of modern Antitrinitarianism*, was, for the most part, unfelt and unheard of in the West, until Praxeas travelled thither out of Asia<sup>1</sup>. The signal of its com-

<sup>1</sup> I say, *For the most part* : because Theodotus, the byzan-

mencement was his arrival among the Latins : as his previous labours in the East had excited a similar panic among the Greeks. His *first* crop of occidental tares, however, speedily, according to Tertullian, disappeared : and, though a *second* had recently sprung up, the good Father hoped and anticipated, that it would soon experience a similar catastrophè.

Now could these doctrines, *thus* described by a contemporary writer, have flourished, within the pale of the Catholic Church, *from the very beginning?*

Could Tertullian have used *such* language, if every body knew : that, in truth, the simple men were *the old primitive believers* ; and that he and his friends were notoriously *the innovators* ?

Could he have represented Praxeas, as *introducing* the doctrines from Asia into the West : if, all the while, they had been *immemorially flourishing* in the West *long before* the migration of Praxeas himself ; and if Praxeas, instead of *introducing*, had really *found* them there ?

tine tanner, had attempted, much about the same time, to excite an alarm at Rome, though upon totally different principles.

Praxeas taught, that *Christ exclusively is the unipersonal God* : Theodotus taught, that *Christ was a mere man*.

To cause a panic in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, each laboured in his vocation : for each was, doubtless, an Antitrinitarian. But they severally went to work in two directly opposite ways.

How, on the theory of Dr. Priestley, comes Tertullian to say: *They are NOW boasting, that we preach two or three gods*<sup>1</sup> ?

The expression, NOW, clearly implies : that such boasting was of *recent* origin. At *one* period, while sleeping in the simplicity of that doctrine which they held BEFORE the arrival of Praxeas, the illiterates never thought of such a thing. But Praxeas, coming out of Asia where he had already been labouring diligently in his vocation, put it into their imprudent heads where it had never lodged *previously*: and THEN commenced the boasting of superior light and knowledge.

Even this, however, is not the whole that may be remarked on the present most marvellously perverted subject.

As the peculiar Antitrinitarianism of the Patripassians was *introduced into* the Church, not *found in* the Church, by the branded innovator Praxeas : so Praxeas himself enjoyed not the sorry dignity of being, with reference to the age of Tertullian, an *ancient* heretic. He was the *first*, who introduced his palpably *new* speculation into the West : and, compared with other perverters of the primitive faith, he is stigmatised by Tertullian as being *an upstart but of yesterday*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Itaque duos et tres JAM jactitant a nobis prædicari. Tertull. adv. Prax. Oper. p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Nam iste *primus* ex Asia hoc genus perversitatis intulit

2. So much for Dr. Priestley's *Direct evidence, in favour of the early Christians having been gene-*

Romanæ humo, et alias inquietus. Tertull. adv. Prax. Oper. p. 405.

Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisset, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante *Praxean hesternum*, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa *novellitas Praxeæ hesterni*. Tertull. adv. Prax. p. 405.

Sed, *post* hos omnes, etiam Praxeas quidam hæresim introduxit. Supplem. in Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæer. § 22. Oper. p. 117.

Dr. Priestley, as we have seen, tells us: that, *In the time of Tertullian, the greater part of believers were, as they always had been, Unitarians who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence.*

In another place, he again speaks of an argument, for the novelty of the doctrine of the Trinity, which may be justly framed from the offence that was given by it in the days of that Father: *when, so far as he can find, the common people first heard of it.* Append. numb. ix. Works, vol. xviii. p. 538.

And, in yet another place, he teaches us: that *It was with great difficulty that the generality of Christians were reconciled, to the doctrine of the deity of Christ, and to that of the Trinity; and that We may, therefore, take it for granted, that it had not been much heard of among the common people at least, and, if so, that it had never been taught by the Apostles.* Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 14. Works, vol. vi. p. 492. See also Ibid. p. 499.

I. To believe, that Dr. Priestley can have read, with even a moderate degree of attention, Tertullian's Tractate against Praxeas: is really a matter of no small difficulty.

*So far as the historian can find, the common people FIRST heard of the doctrine of the Trinity in the time of Tertullian!*

*It was with great difficulty, that the generality of Christians*



rally Unitarians who held the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in abhorrence: evidence, the historian re-

were reconciled, to the doctrine of the deity of Christ, and to that of the Trinity!

*We may take it for granted, that it had not been much heard of among the common people at least!*

1. Why, the whole Tractate of Tertullian, from beginning to end, is one continued censure of the NOVELTIES of Praxeas: who, after all, instead of teaching his disciples to deny the deity of Christ, actually identified him with the Father, and maintained his exclusive unipersonal deity.

2. Accordingly, by starting plausible difficulties against the confessedly ANCIENT doctrine of *A Triad of three consubstantial Persons in the Unity of the true Godhead*, Praxeas is described, as having perverted many of the unlearned and imprudently precipitate, both among the Greeks and among the Latins, from that faith in the Trinity, which the Apostles had handed down to them, and which they had *hitherto* UNIVERSALLY received.

3. The very basis of Tertullian's argument is: *The acknowledged and notorious PRIORITY of the Trinitarian System, which the common people had always held, until some illiterates among them were recently perplexed by the subtleties of the upstart Praxeas; and the glaring NOVELTY of the singular Antitrinitarian System, the System, to wit, of Patripassianism, which that man of yesterday, on the score of his own mere dogmatical private interpretation, was endeavouring to substitute in its place.*

II. In short, even to say nothing of the mass of primitive testimony which I have already produced, Tertullian *himself*, as if in anticipatory mockery of the historian, attests, under the aspect of a mere naked MATTER OF FACT: both that *The common people had always, from the very beginning, held the doctrine of the Trinity; and that The doctrine of the Trinity had been*

marks, *as express as can be desired in the case.* But we have not yet done with the testimony furnished by the passage now under consideration.

(1.) The simple men, though, in consequence of the suggestions of Praxeas, they took alarm at the doctrine of the Trinity: yet held, not THE BARE HUMANITY OF CHRIST like the Antitrinitarians of the present day, but HIS SOLE AND EXCLUSIVE DIVINITY.

Now, that their newly adopted doctrine was erroneous, both Trinitarian and Antitrinitarian of modern times will fully agree.

But still the question will obtrude itself: *How came they to adopt such a doctrine?*

Of *primitive truth* it was, no doubt, a *corruption*. On *this* point, happily, there can be no dispute.

What, then, *was* the primitive truth, of which it was a corruption? What *was* the germ, from which apparently it originated?

The modern Trinitarian contends: that *his* creed was certainly the creed of the primitive apostolic Church. And the modern Antitrinita-

*handed down to them, from the very commencement of the Gospel itself.*

Hanc regulam AB INITIO EVANGELII decucurrisset.

III. Such is the mode, in which Dr. Priestley writes ecclesiastical history. And, be it never forgotten, the question before us is, not a question of OPINION, but a question of FACT.

It is in regard to a FACT, we see, that Dr. Priestley and Tertullian differ *toto cœlo*. Yet, incredible as it might well seem to a person unacquainted with Dr. Priestley's writings, the modern historian, on *this identical point*, actually appeals to the *testimony* of the ancient Father.

rian equally contends : that that honour clearly belongs to *his* creed.

Such being the case, if the modern Antitrinitarian be right in his opinion : *then* the Patripassianism of the simple men was a corruption of that original faith, which taught ; that *The Father EXCLUSIVELY is God*, that *God never became incarnate*, and that *Christ was a mere man*.

But, on the contrary, if the modern Trinitarian be right in *his* opinion : *then* the Patripassianism of the simple men was a corruption of that faith, which from the very beginning taught ; that *God is one in essence*, that *He exists nevertheless in three persons*, and that *The second of these three persons became incarnate in the true man Jesus Christ*.

On which side, then, lies the ground of abstractedly probable origination ?

Many perhaps will incline to think, that the Patripassian System of *The exclusive worship of Christ as the sole unipersonal Deity incarnate*, associated with the notion that FATHER and SON and SPIRIT are simply different names of one divine person, bids fairer : to be the corruption of a System which teaches, that *The second of the three divine persons became incarnate in the man Jesus* ; than of a System which teaches, that *Christ was a mere man*, that *The Holy Ghost is but a quality*, and that *God under no aspect ever became incarnate*.

(2.) They, who thus incline to think, will not be displeased to see the somewhat similar reasoning of Novatian.



*In this place, says he, I may be allowed to frame an argument from the part which is played by other heretics. That is a firm sort of proof, which is taken even from an adversary: so that, from the very enemies of the truth, the truth may be established. For so far as this it is manifest, that Christ is declared in Scripture to be God: inasmuch as most heretics, struck with the magnitude and truth of his divinity, and thence beyond all bounds extending his honours, have dared to broach or to believe; that he is not distinctively the Son, but that he is even God the Father himself. Which notion, however contrary it may be to scriptural verity, is yet a mighty and powerful argument for the divinity of Christ: since he is so evidently and decidedly God, though, in so far forth as he is the Son of God, born from God; that most heretics receive him as God in such a manner, as to pronounce him not distinctively the Son but especially the Father. Let persons, then, well consider, whether he must not needs be God, whose authority has so greatly moved some, that they deem him even God the Father himself: the manifest divinity of Christ compelling them to confess divinity in Christ too unrestrainedly and effusely; so that, whom they read to be the Son, they forthwith, because they perceive him to be God, pronounce him to be the Father<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 614. This statement of Novatian is one of the many passages, from the ancient



Fathers; which, to serve his own purposes, Dr. Priestley has thought fit completely to pervert and to misrepresent.

I. From the conduct of the patripassian heretics, who were successively the disciples of Praxeas and of Noëtus and of Sabellius, Novatian draws a strong argument for the catholic doctrine of the proper and essential divinity of Christ. But, while he does *this*, he, at the same time, justly censures *them*: because, by deeming Christ *personally* identical with even God the Father himself, *they confessed his godhead TOO UNRESTRAINEDLY AND EFFUSELY.*

Æstiment, an hic sit Deus, cujus auctoritas tantum movit quosdam, ut putarent illum (ut diximus superius) jam ipsum Patrem Deum: EFFRENATIUS ET EFFUSIUS in Christo divinitatem confiteri ad hoc illos manifesta Christi divinitate cogente, ut, quem Filium legerent, quia Deum animadverterent, Patrem putarent.

II. The meaning of the passage is so plain, that even a child could not mistake it. Yet, for the avowed purpose of shewing, that *The early ecclesiastical writers were wont systematically to derogate from the proper and essential godhead of the Son*, and that *Such language was constantly held until the time of the first Nicene Council*: this very passage is, by Dr. Priestley, actually referred to in evidence!

1. It will naturally be asked: how *such* a passage could ever have been made to advocate the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism?

Truly, in the hands of a garbling historian, nothing is more easy.

By Dr. Priestley, THE ENTIRE ARGUMENT OF NOVATIAN IS CAREFULLY SUPPRESSED: and thus the passage itself is, only PARTIALLY, adduced. Hist. of Corrupt. part. i. sect. 3. Works, vol. v. p. 38.

2. Novatian, we see, blames the Patripassians: because they *personally* identified the Father and the Son. But, at the same time, he alleges their very heresy, as affording a remarkable

proof: both *how strongly the proper divinity of Christ shines out from Holy Scripture*; and *how indelibly, from the very beginning, it had been impressed upon the minds of the faithful*.

Thus states, and thus argues, Novatian. And, forthwith, because he rightly censures the patripassian Antitrinitarians *for confessing divinity in Christ* TOO UNRESTRAINEDLY AND EFFUSELY; that is to say, because he censures these heretics for so confessing divinity in Christ, as to identify him *personally* with the Father: Dr. Priestley, QUITE SUPPRESSING HIS ARGUMENT, gravely cites him as *an early theologian, who systematically derogated from the Son's essential godhead!*

## CHAPTER VI.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGED INTRODUCTION OF THE  
DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY BY JUSTIN MARTYR,  
AND HIS CONSEQUENT SUPPOSED TIMID COURTESY  
TO THE PRIMITIVE ANTITRINITARIANS.

---

WE have now, though with small emolument, travelled through Dr. Priestley's *direct evidence in favour of the early Christians having been generally Unitarians who held the doctrine of Christ's divinity in abhorrence*. He thinks, however, that the same important fact may be gathered, clearly though indirectly, from the timid courtesy of Justin Martyr, who flourished at a yet earlier period than Tertullian. It may be useful, therefore, to attend upon him, while stating his theory in regard to the alleged malpractices of this very ancient theologian.

That the doctrine of Christ's divinity is *now* held, and that during the lapse of many ages it *has been* held, by the entire Catholic Church, is a FACT too notorious to be denied.

Now, by the Antitrinitarians, this doctrine is

supposed to be a gross corruption of primitive truth, utterly unknown to the sincere believers of the apostolic age, and forming no part of the theological system which was taught either by Christ himself or by his immediate disciples.

Such being the case, the doctrine *must* have had a commencement at some indefinite time *subsequent* to the apostolic age.

Hence, on their own principles, the members of the Antitrinitarian School stand pledged to *define* and to *specify* the time of its commencement: and hence, unless this necessary task can be performed to the satisfaction of the conscientious inquirer, the whole fabric of Antitrinitarianism, so far as respects the point of apostolical sanction and aboriginal antiquity, must inevitably sink to the ground, a disjointed mass of unseemly ruins.

The force of the present statement seems to have been tacitly felt and acknowledged: and, as it has produced more than one attempt to solve a difficulty of no ordinary magnitude; so it has led to an exhibition of historical inconsistency, which anteriorly might have been justly deemed well nigh incredible.

Mr. Lindsey, unless I wholly misapprehend him, ascribes the invention of the doctrine to the Council of Nice which sat in the year 325.

*If, says he, the matter is to be put to the vote as it were, it is absolutely necessary, that the less learned should be told,* WHAT UPON INQUIRY WILL BE FOUND



UNDENIABLY TRUE : *that The Fathers of the three first centuries, and consequently all Christian People for upward of three hundred years after Christ till the Council of Nice, were generally Unitarians*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lindsey's Apol. p. 23, 24. I have said : that Mr. Lindsey, *unless I wholly misapprehend him*, ascribes the invention of the doctrine of the Trinity to the Council of Nice. This saving clause I have thought it necessary to introduce : because, in truth, Mr. Lindsey's phraseology is not a little uncommon.

He tells us : that ALL *Antenicene Christians were GENERALLY Unitarians*.

Now, though the word GENERALLY imports only *a high degree of particularity*, yet since the word ALL decidedly sets forth *universality*, Mr. Lindsey, I suppose, must mean to assert the UNIVERSAL prevalence of Unitarianism anterior to the Council of Nice ; ascribing to that celebrated Assembly the first invention of a hitherto entirely unknown doctrine, the doctrine, namely, of the Trinity.

These early Unitarians, who comprehended ALL Christian People for upward of three hundred years after Christ till the Council of Nice, are defined by Mr. Lindsey to have been, *what are now called either Arians or Socinians : that is, such as held our Saviour Christ to derive life and being and all his powers from God, though with different sentiments concerning the date of his original dignity and nature*. Ibid. p. 24.

I. That Mr. Lindsey had *himself* ever perused the Antenicene Fathers, I am unwilling, for the sake of his own credit, to believe. He rather seems, *at second hand*, to have hastily caught up his opinion from the loose and ambiguously deceptive statement of Faustus Socinus : a statement, however, which that writer found it necessary afterward, in its antitrinitarian sense, to retract.

*Cognitio ista*, says he, *sine ulla controversia, usque ad tempora Concilii Nicæni, et aliquanto post, inter eos qui Christum profi-*

This theory of Mr. Lindsey is, with good reason, by no means satisfactory to the anonymous Barrister.

*tebantur, esse non desiit. Per totum enim illud tempus, ut ex omnium, qui tunc extiterunt, scriptis liquet, ille unus verus Deus, quem passim sacra testimonia prædicant, solus Pater Jesu Christi est creditus.* Faust. Socin. Epist. ad Radee. ii. Oper. vol. i. p. 375.

1. Now, if, in this passage, Socinus meant only to say; that, *According to the Antenicene Doctors, the Father alone possesses the prerogative of being Ἀυτόθεος or God of himself, while the Son, though consubstantial with the Father and therefore physically and eternally very God, is still derivatively Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ God from God: he certainly spoke the truth.* But, in that case, as his statement will be wholly useless to the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism, so it will exhibit the Antenicene Doctors as saying only what the Catholic Church has *invariably* said in ALL ages.

2. On the other hand, if Socinus meant to intimate; that, *By the Antenicene Doctors, the Father was always accounted God alone EXCLUSIVELY of the Son who himself was deemed by them a mere creature, the matter so boldly asserted by Mr. Lindsey to be undeniably true: he assuredly, in that case, propounded a gross and direct falsehood; as any person may satisfy himself, by the very simple operation of perusing those same Antenicene Doctors, or (if that be thought too great a labour for modern theological industry) by the easier task of merely reading Dr. Burton's Testimonies of the Antenicene Fathers to the divinity of Christ, in which most useful Work he will find the precise original words of those early writers faithfully given in the margin.*

3. Accordingly, as Mr. Lindsey (who professes to teach the less learned) ought to have known and remarked, Socinus afterward confessed: that, *From about the very commencement*

Hence, instead of ascribing the invention of the doctrine to the Council of Nice, instead of pro-

*of the Church of Christ down to his own times, an innumerable host of pious and learned men, some of whom had sealed their faith with their blood, uniformly maintained (what Socinus himself is pleased to call a most grievous error), that Christ is that one God who created all things, or at least that Christ was begotten from the proper substance of the Deity.*

*Ab ipso ferme nascentis Ecclesiæ Christi initio usque ad nostra tempora, tot viros non minus pietate quam doctrina clarissimos, tot ipsius Christi sanctissimos martyres, adeo ut nullus sit numerus, eum alioqui gravissimum errorem secutos fuisse; quod Christus sit unus ille Deus qui omnia creavit, aut certe ex illius propria substantia genitus.* Faust. Socin. Epist. ad Radec. iii. Oper. vol. i. p. 391. Vide Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. Procem. § 4.

II. For his *undeniable truth*, it is not impossible, that Mr. Lindsey may also have been indebted to Dionysius Petavius and Cardinal Perron: who, as I have already observed, have thought fit, for certain very intelligible reasons of their own, to start the present paradox; though Petavius subsequently retracted. See above, book ii. chap. 1. § 1. 8. note. I think this the more probable, because, by some recent Antitrinitarian writers, I have seen Petavius adduced as an authority.

1. With respect to Cardinal Perron, that ecclesiastic, in his Reply to King James, asserts generally, respecting the Antenicene Fathers, that *the Arians would gladly be tried by them.*

But neither the adventurous Cardinal, nor his equally adventurous follower Mr. Lindsey, seems to have been aware: that such a trial was once *actually proposed* to the Arians; and that, by them, it was *very judiciously declined.*

The story is somewhat curious: and, as my object throughout the present Work is to build upon FACTS, I shall briefly subjoin it, as given by the two ecclesiastical historians Socrates and Sozomen.



nouncing the Fathers of the three first centuries to have been professed Unitarians, and instead of

2. Toward the latter end of the fourth century, the Emperor Theodosius, wishing to heal the dissensions chiefly produced by the Arians, proposed to the Patriarch Nectarius, that a conference or synod should be held for the purpose of discussing the litigated points and of thus finally bringing the matter to an amicable settlement.

Nectarius forthwith consulted Agelius: and Agelius introduced to him Sicinnius, a shrewd and well-informed Reader of his Church, who recommended that the following plan should be adopted.

*Well knowing, as the two historians remark, that the old Antenicene Writers unanimously taught the coëternity of the Son with the Father and therefore could never assert that the existence of the Son had a commencement, Sicinnius proposed, that, instead of entering into any wearisome and interminable disputation, they should simply ask the Arians, together with the kindred Eunomians and Macedonians: whether they would consent to be tried by those ancient Antenicene Writers who flourished before the eruption of the then prevalent dissensions, and whether they would finally abide by their words in deciding the matters litigated?*

His advice was followed: and, in the presence of the Emperor, the question was formally propounded.

The Arians, however, notwithstanding (as Mr. Lindsey teaches us for *an undeniable truth*) they had all the Antenicene Fathers on their own side, and notwithstanding (as Cardinal Perron gravely assures us *in verbo sacerdotis*) they would gladly be tried by these same Antenicene Fathers; when the *offer* of such a trial was fairly and openly made to them, somewhat unaccountably, on the historical principles of Mr. Lindsey and the Cardinal, DECLINED its acceptance.

Such being the case, the Emperor, finding that they relied on



declaring that upon inquiry the whole of this will be found undeniably true : the Barrister assures us, that Tertullian and his learned contemporaries, who flourished about the latter end of the second century and the beginning of the third, were in no wise Unitarians, as Mr. Lindsey had too hastily asserted ; but, on the contrary, he determines it to be AN INDISPUTABLE FACT, that these erroneously supposed Unitarians were the precise persons, who endeavoured to introduce into the hitherto strictly unitarian Church the doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead.

According, therefore, to the more matured inquiry of the Barrister, Mr. Lindsey's UNDENIABLE UNITARIANS actually turn out to have been *the identical mischievous individuals, who first excogitated and who first attempted to introduce the hitherto unknown and unheard of doctrine of the Trinity*<sup>1</sup>.

The speculation of the Barrister, I believe, did not see the light until after the death of Dr. Priestley. From the nature of *his own* theory, however, it is clear : that the historian neither

their own bare private opinions and that they refused to abide by the decision of primitive antiquity, reasonably enough adopted the Creed of the Consubstantialists : inasmuch as *they alone*, confident in the evangelical soundness and the apostolical priority of their doctrinal system, were willing to abide the trial and to stand or fall by the test proposed. See Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 10. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Letters by another Barrist. p. 105.

would, nor could, have corroborated it, by the sanction of *his* laudatory approbation.

So far from ascribing the invention and introduction of the doctrine of the Trinity either to the Nicene Fathers or to Tertullian and his learned contemporaries; Dr. Priestley inclines to seek its commencement at a *yet earlier* period, than that which has been selected, either by Mr. Lindsey, or by the Barrister.

In pursuance of this plan, he is willing mainly to assign its discovery, together with the discovery of the closely connected tenet of Christ's divinity, to the philosophical ingenuity of the converted Platonist Justin, who was received into the Church about the year 130.

Mr. Lindsey propounded *his* theory, as A MATTER UNDENIABLY TRUE; and the Barrister lays down *his* speculation, as AN INDISPUTABLE FACT: but the more modest statement of Dr. Priestley's hypothesis, as if he himself was not perfectly satisfied in regard to its solidity, is marked by a considerable degree of hesitation. It lies scattered, somewhat widely, in various parts of his controversial and theological compositions: but, so far as I can catch and understand its purport, we may view it, as setting forth the five following distinct propositions.

*Justin Martyr* FIRST INTRODUCED *into the Church the hitherto unknown doctrines of Christ's præexistence and divinity.* *Irenæus, who was partially his*

*contemporary, readily caught up the NOVEL fancy. And others, who for whatever reason were already predisposed to act the same part, readily followed their evil example.*

*But, though Justin FIRST INTRODUCED these speculations into the Church, he did not, in absolute strictness of speech, INVENT them. Having been a Platonist anterior to his conversion, he learned the sum and substance of them in the Schools of his favourite Heathen Philosophy. And, finding the doctrine of the Word of God ready formed to his hands in the Works of the platonising Jew Philo, it was small wonder, that he eagerly caught at it, and that thence with a personal application to Jesus of Nazareth he INTRODUCED it into the Christian System.*

*The unscriptural NOVELTY, thus introduced, met with considerable opposition. For the generality of believers, who lived in the age of Justin, maintained the bare humanity of Christ. Accordingly, his language has all the air of an apology: and it seems evidently to proceed from a man, who was not very confident of his opinion, and who was aware that he had not the sanction of the majority.*

*Such being the case, we may easily understand, why he treats his antitrinitarian contemporaries with so much civility. For, in his time, they were very far from being reckoned heretics; though, by Irenæus, they were afterwards pronounced to be so.*

*On the same principle, we may also understand: why, in case his novel speculations should be found*



*untenable, he so carefully provides for himself the respectability of a decent retreat. He speaks of his opinion, as being, in fact, a doubtful one: and, thence, he by no means sets it down, as a necessary article of Christian Faith.*

These five several propositions, unless I wholly and very unintentionally misapprehend the purport of his language, it is the object of Dr. Priestley's statement to advance and to maintain<sup>1</sup>.

I shall successively consider them, if not in the precise order wherein they have been here enume-

<sup>1</sup> See Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect i. Works, vol. v. p. 21, 22. sect. 2. p. 29, 30. sect. 3. p. 37. Letters to Bp. Horsley part i. lett. 6. Works vol. xviii. p. 90. Hist. of Early Opin. book ii. chap. 2. sect. 2. book iii. chap. 14. Works, vol. vi. p. 208, 493—495.

In extracting the above five propositions for the more commodious discussion of Dr. Priestley's theory, I have studied to express them as nearly as possible *in his own precise words*.

It may not be improper to remark, that the wild notion advocated by Dr. Priestley, respecting the alleged platonising innovations of Justin Martyr, had already been started, long before the birth of the rapid historian, by Daniel Zuicker in his *Irenicum Irenicorum*.

*Statuit Justinum fuisse, qui primus dogma, de Filii præexistentia ante conditum mundum, et de creatione mundi per ipsum, e Platonis Schola in Ecclesias Christianas introduxerit.* Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. i. cap. 2. § 5. Vide etiam Bull. Introd. ad Primit. et Apostol. Trad. § 1—3.

Bishop Bull justly calls this totally unsupported whim of Zuicker, which has since been revived as a grave matter of History by Dr. Priestley, *absurdissimam suam sententiam*. Ibid.



rated, yet in the order which for the purpose of eliciting the truth I deem most convenient.

I. According to Dr. Priestley, *When the novel doctrines of Christ's pre-existence and divinity were first introduced by Justin Martyr, they met with much opposition: for most of his contemporaries held the bare humanity of our Lord. Hence his language has all the air of an apology: and it seems evidently to proceed from a man, who was not very confident of his opinion, and who was aware that he had not the sanction of the majority.*

1. This notion of the historian is built upon the following translation of a passage in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho.

*For there are some of our race, who acknowledge him to be Christ, but who hold that he was a man born like other men. NEITHER DO I AGREE WITH THE MAJORITY OF CHRISTIANS, WHO MAY HAVE OBJECTED TO MY OPINION: because we are commanded, by Christ himself, not to obey the teachings of men, but what was taught by the holy prophets.*

To the translation, thus proposed for our acceptance, Dr. Priestley appends the following remark.

*The phrase, NEITHER DO I AGREE WITH THE MAJORITY OF CHRISTIANS WHO MAY HAVE OBJECTED TO MY OPINION, which is nearly the most literal rendering of the passage (though I would not be understood to lay much stress on that circumstance), will naturally be construed to mean, that the majority*

*actually did make the objection, or that Justin suspected they might make it*<sup>1</sup>.

With respect to the leading clause in the passage now before us, its *present* translation, which is offered by Dr. Priestley and which he pronounces to be *nearly its most literal rendering*, indisputably (as I am quite willing to admit) establishes the point, which it has been adduced for the purpose of establishing.

*Neither*, says Justin, in Dr. Priestley's nearly most literal version of his words: *Neither do I agree with the majority of Christians, who may have objected to my opinion.*

Now the opinion, here referred to as *maintained* by Justin, was the doctrine of Christ's preëxistence and divinity: and, in *this* opinion, according to Dr. Priestley's translation, he fairly confesses himself to *disagree* with the great majority of Christians.

Since, then, Justin *maintained* the doctrine of Christ's preëxistence and divinity; and since, by his own confession in nearly the most literal rendering of his words, the great majority of Christians, on this point, *disagreed* with him in opinion: it will inevitably follow, as Dr. Priestley from *such* premises with much justice concluded; that *The doctrine of Christ's preëxistence and divinity was, in the time of Justin, or only about forty years after the*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 14. Works, vol. vi. p. 495.

*death of St. John, rejected, under the aspect of an audacious novelty, by the great majority of christian believers :*

Thus finally, however Dr. Priestley may have failed in establishing his point, so far as the times of Athanasius and Origen and Tertullian are concerned : thus finally, provided only we adopt the nearly literal translation which he recommends to our acceptance, he has completely established his point, in regard to the much earlier, and therefore much more important, age of Justin.

Hence the result of the whole inquiry is : that, *About some forty years after the death of St. John, though Justin was attempting to corrupt the sound primitive doctrine received from the Apostles ; yet THE GREAT MAJORITY OF CHRISTIANS still, even confessedly, maintained the genuine original system of humanitarian Antitrinitarianism.*

So much having been achieved by what the historian pronounces to be *nearly the most literal rendering of the passage*, we may reasonably wonder, why he *would not be understood to lay much stress on that circumstance.* The WHOLE strength of the demonstration obviously rests upon *the strict propriety of the version* : and *the nearly perfect literalness of that version* is the very matter, which in argument constitutes its peculiar value and cogency. Yet, with apparently superfluous prodigality of fairness, Dr. Priestley *would not be understood to lay much stress upon that circumstance.*



2. At the first point of view, all this seems very extraordinary : but, by a mere inspection of the greek original, our astonishment will speedily be dissipated.

Dr. Priestley, no doubt, had some small misgivings as to the reception of his *nearly most literal translation* : and hence, just as if the fallacy could escape detection, he *would not be understood to lay much stress upon it*. The truth is : no two clauses can be more unlike, than Justin's *original Greek*, and Dr. Priestley's *nearly most literal translation into English*. For, while the translation makes the great majority of Christians to DISAGREE with Justin, the original Greek makes that same majority to AGREE with him.

But let us hear the venerable Martyr, in what, unless I altogether mistake, will be found a strictly accurate version of the entire passage.

*For there are some, O my friends, I went on to say, of our race, who confess him indeed to be Christ, but who declare him to be only a man born from men.* WITH WHOM I AGREE NOT : NEITHER WOULD I AGREE ; NOT EVEN IF THE MOST, WHO MAINTAIN HOWEVER THE VERY SAME DOCTRINE AS MYSELF, SHOULD SAY SO : *inasmuch as, by Christ himself, we are commanded to obey, not mere human instructions, but those which have been propounded through the blessed prophets and which have been taught through himself*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες, ὧ φίλοι, ἔλεγον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους,



3. Thus, in a faithful translation, runs the entire passage, of which, to suit his own purposes,

ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε-  
νόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι· οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι· οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι, ταύ-  
τά μοι δοξάσαντες, εἶποιεν· ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρωπείους διδάγμασι κε-  
κελεύσμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν  
μακαρίων προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ διδαχθεῖσι. Justin.  
Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 207.

I. In the leading clause of this passage, Justin's Greek, Οἷς οὐ συντίθεμαι· οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι, ταύτά μοι δοξάσαντες, εἶποιεν, is by Dr. Priestley translated; *Neither do I agree with the majority of Christians who may have objected to my opinion:* and *this* he gravely pronounces to be nearly the most literal rendering of the passage!

1. The old latin translation runs: *Quibus non assentior; neque id sane multi, QUI IN EADEM MECUM SENTENTIA SUNT, dixerint.*

2. This translation, with merely a slight phraseological variation, has been followed by Bishop Bull: *Quibus ego minimè assentior; neque sanè plerique, EADEM MECUM SENTIENTES, illud dixerint.*

3. But, by the learned Benedictine Editors, the clause, so grievously tormented by Dr. Priestley, is rendered, as doubtless it ought to be rendered, in manner following: *Quibus ego non assentior, nec assentirer, etiamsi maxima pars, QUÆ MECUM CONSENTIT, idem diceret.*

4. From Justin's own Greek, however, ALL interpreters, save Dr. Priestley, clearly saw: that the great majority of believers, or, in other words, the great body of the Catholic Church, AGREED, NOT DISAGREED, with Justin, as to his doctrine respecting the nature of Christ. On this point, as any one may perceive, Justin is full and express: *πλείστοι, ταύτά μοι δοξάσαντες.*

II. Though it may be of no particular importance to my

the leading clause has been so grossly perverted by Dr. Priestley.

And now, when Justin is permitted to speak for himself, where is the historian's proof: either that *the majority of then existent Christians actually objected to the opinion of Justin*, or that *Justin suspected they might object?*

Truly, it exists not. Instead of any confession on the part of Justin, that *the great majority of his christian contemporaries objected to his opinion*, he

main point, as occurring not in the leading clause of the passage, I think it right to notice a valuable conjectural emendation of Bishop Bull.

From Justin's use of the phrase, *τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ΥΜΩΝ*, *those of YOUR race*, when, in the very passage which *immediately precedes* the citation now before us, he addresses himself to Trypho and his jewish companions: it is contended, by Bishop Bull, that, in the *present* citation, instead of *τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους* *our race*, we ought to read *τοῦ ὑμετέρου γένους* *your race*.

In this emendation I agree with the learned Prelate.

1. The original word *γένος*, here translated *race*, means, not *a mingled body of men collected out of all nations* such as that which composed the Christian Church, but *a single race* or *a single nation* such as that of the Jews to which Trypho and his associates belonged. As Justin, then, in the immediately previous context, talks to Trypho about *those who are of YOUR race*: so, in the present citation, he says to him and to his hebrew friends, not *There are some of OUR race*, but *There are some of YOUR race*.

2. The expression *YOUR race*, happily restored for the expression *OUR race*, refers to the sect of the Ebionites: who, in extraction, were Hebrews; and who, in doctrine, were Humanitarians. Thus, self-approved, both by context and grammar and naked matter of fact, stands the proposed emendation.

declares : that, as he *did* not agree with some few individuals, meaning doubtless the judaising Ebionites, who asserted the Christ to be only a man born of men ; so neither *would* he agree with them, even if, by some strange revolution of sentiment, the great majority, *who then however held the very same doctrine as himself*, should at length, most unexpectedly and most unaccountably, come to say so.

Such is the declaration of Justin : and with it exactly tallies the distinct statement, which, in his first public Apology, he openly makes on behalf of his collective brethren.

Evidently without the least fear of possible contradiction, he tells us : that even the most illiterate Christians who had been received into the Church by baptism, even those who could neither read nor write, were familiarly acquainted with the doctrine of the Father and the demiurgic Word incarnate and the prophetic Spirit who moved upon the waters at the time of the creation ; familiarly acquainted, in short, with that doctrine of a Trinity in the Godhead, of which, he thinks, some traces might be found in the imitative plagiarisms of the Platonists ; the ancient hebrew Scriptures being the *real* source, he alleges, whence they stole all their knowledge on the subject <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Ἴνα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων διδασκάλων (λέγομεν δὲ τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν) λαβόντα τὸν Πλάτωνα μάθητέ τὸ εἰπεῖν, ὕλην ἄμορφον οὖσαν στρέψαντα τὸν Θεόν, κόσμον ποιῆσαι. —"Ὡστε Λόγῳ Θεοῦ, ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ προδηλωθέντων διὰ



4. The historian's pretended proof having thus vanished, Justin's fancied apology for an opinion, *contrary* to the general opinion, of course vanishes also.

Justin is making no apology for his sentiments : neither is Trypho urging against him (what we may be sure he *would* have done, if with truth he *could* have done) his confessedly new-fangled discrepancy from the whole Catholic Church. On the contrary, still in exact conformity with his express statement that *even the most illiterate Christian was familiarly acquainted with the doctrine of the Trinity*, if Dr. Priestley would only have read with ordinary attention the very next sentence to

Μωσέως, γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πάντα κόσμον, καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐμάθομεν.—

Καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρὰ Πλάτωνι Τιμαίῳ φυσιολογοῦμενον περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτε λέγει, Ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντὶ, παρὰ Μωσέως λαβῶν ὁμοίως εἶπεν.—Χίασμα νοήσας, τὴν μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν Δύναμιν κεχίασθαι ἐν τῷ παντὶ εἶπε. Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν τρίτον, ἐπειδὴ ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων ἀνέγνω ὑπὸ Μωσέως εἰρημένον ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα. Δευτέραν μὲν γὰρ χώραν τῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ Λόγῳ, ὃν κεχίασθαι ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἔφη, δίδωσι τὴν δὲ τρίτην, τῷ λεχθέντι ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι Πνεύματι, εἰπών· Τὰ δὲ τρίτα περὶ τὸν τρίτον.—

Οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἄλλοις δοξάζομεν· ἀλλ' οἱ πάντες τὰ ἡμέτερα μιμούμενοι λέγουσι. Παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν στοιχείων ἐπισταμένων, ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φθέγμα, σοφῶν δὲ καὶ πιστῶν τὸν νοῦν ὄντων, καὶ πηρῶν καὶ χήρων τινῶν γὰς ὄψεις· ὡς συνεῖναι, οὐ σοφία ἀνθρωπεία ταῦτα γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 72, 73.



the passage which he has so strangely perverted: he would have found a direct confirmation of Justin's assertion, that *the great majority of Christians held the same opinions with himself*. For he would have found Trypho, strong in his Jewish prejudices, objecting: that CHRISTIANS COLLECTIVELY said the self-same things, that JUSTIN INDIVIDUALLY said, respecting the nature of the divine Redeemer.

*Trypho replied: Those, who say, that Jesus was born a mere man, and that by election he was anointed, and that he became the Christ, seem to me to speak more credibly than YOU who say those things that THOU sayest*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων, Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκοῦσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ λέγοντες ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι αὐτὸν, καὶ κατ' ἐκλογὴν κεχρίσθαι, καὶ Χριστὸν γεγονέναι, πιθανώτερον ὙΜΩΝ λέγειν τῶν ταῦτα ἄπερ ΦΗΙΣ λεγόντων. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 207.

This passage was certainly *read* by Dr. Priestley, but not *read by him with ordinary attention*. The former particular appears, from the fact of his having cited it: the latter, from the fact of his having translated it. In the hands of Dr. Priestley, all attestation to the circumstance of *Christians at large* (expressed by the emphatic plural word ἡμῶν, here plainly equivalent to *You Christians*) saying those identical things that *Justin* said, totally vanishes. The following is his version of the place.

*They, who think that Jesus was a man, and, being chosen of God, was anointed Christ, appear to me to advance a more probable opinion than yours.* Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 1. Works, vol. v. p. 22.

*To advance a more probable opinion than yours; a mode of speaking, which would obviously lead a reader, who had not*

In this passage, the plural YOU, as directly contradistinguished from the individualising THOU, is plainly equivalent to YOU CHRISTIANS. Trypho, consequently, in full accordance with Justin's immediately preceding avowal that THE MOST *held the very same opinions with himself*, remarks : that THE GREAT COLLECTIVE BODY OF CHRISTIANS *said the same things, respecting the nature of Christ, that JUSTIN HIMSELF said ; but that he deemed the scheme of the humanitarianising individuals, with whom Justin and the majority could not agree, far more credible than that of the Church Catholic.*

In truth, if Justin apologised at all, he must have apologised, Dr. Priestley himself being judge, *because his opinion was A NOVELTY, and because notoriously but FEW had embraced it.* Yet Justin declares, that THE MOST or THE MAJORITY of those who bore the name of Christians thought as he did : and Trypho, in his immediate reply, *confirms the truth of his declaration, while he strongly objects to the abstract incredibility of the doctrine.*

The entire passage, in short, with its immediately consecutive context, indisputably establishes a position the *very opposite* to that, which, on its authority, Dr. Priestley wished to establish. For

the original Greek before him, to conclude, that Trypho was speaking only of the mere *individual* opinion of Justin : *To advance a more probable opinion than yours is Dr. Priestley's proposed version of Justin's πιθανώτερον ΥΜΩΝ λέγειν τῶν ταῦτα ἄπερ ΦΗΙΣ λεγόντων.*

it clearly demonstrates : that THE GREAT MAJORITY of those who bore the Christian name, or, in other words, THE ENTIRE CATHOLIC CHURCH as contradistinguished from those innovators who had separated themselves from her communion, held the very same doctrine respecting the nature of Christ that Justin himself held.

To sum up the whole matter, the precipitate historian has, most infelicitously, mistaken a decided adversary for a trusty ally.

II. Dr. Priestley further learns, from the phraseology of Justin : that, *In his time, Antitrinitarians, who denied the godhead of Christ, were very far from being reckoned heretics ; though, afterward, they were pronounced to be such by Irenèus : a circumstance, which at once accounts for Justin's extraordinary civility to his humanitarian contemporaries, and evinces the conscious unpopular innovator.*

1. A reader, unacquainted with Dr. Priestley's mode of writing history, would doubtless, from this statement, naturally conclude : that Justin *long preceded* Irenèus, and that the doctrine of Christ's mere humanity was not pronounced heretical until *many years after* the death of Justin.

Yet, with respect to these two ancient Fathers, how does the question of relative or comparative chronology stand *actually* ?

Justin and Irenèus, as Dr. Priestley himself subsequently, though not very consistently, observes, were, in truth, CONTEMPORARIES : or, as the his-



torian expresses it, they flourished ABOUT THE SAME TIME<sup>1</sup>. For Justin was converted to Christianity

<sup>1</sup> Lest any person should imagine that I am misrepresenting Dr. Priestley, I subjoin, in all equity, his own precise words.

I. They occur in two several places of his History of Corruptions.

1. *The manner, in which Justin Martyr speaks of those Unitarians who believed Christ to be the son of Joseph, is very remarkable: and shews, that, though they even denied the miraculous conception, they were far from being reckoned heretics IN HIS TIME, as they were BY IRENEUS AFTERWARD.* Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 1. Works, vol. v. p. 21.

2. *With this disposition to make his religion appear in the most respectable light to the heathens, and having himself professed the doctrine of Plato, can it be thought extraordinary: that Justin eagerly caught at the doctrine of the Logos which he found ready formed to his hands in the Works of Philo, and that he introduced it into the Christian System; that Irenæus, who was educated among the philosophers ABOUT THE SAME TIME, did the same thing; or that others, who were themselves sufficiently predisposed to act the same part, should follow their example?* Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 2. Works, vol. v. p. 30.

II. It has been truly said; that, for the purpose of preserving a decent verisimilitude, the writer of Romance ought to possess a good memory: and the celebrated slip of the immortal Cervantes has often been adduced in the way of illustration. The memory of Dr. Priestley, who, as an historian, ought *not* to be a romancer, is so treacherous, that it fails him in the course of nine octavo pages.

1. In the first of these two passages, when it is convenient for Dr. Priestley to exhibit Humanitarianism, as, at a very *early* period of Ecclesiastical History, NOT marked with the brand of heresy, though *subsequently*, at a *later* period, dis-



shortly after the year 130 ; and he suffered martyrdom about the year 163 : while Irenèus is supposed to have been born in the year 97, and to have published his Work against Heresies in the year 175. Dr. Priestley's assertion, therefore, that, *in the time of Justin*, the maintainers of Christ's mere humanity were far from being reckoned heretics, but that *by Irenèus afterward* they were distinctly pronounced to be such, may well seem not a little paradoxical. If Justin and Irenèus flourished *about the same time*, which, in one place at least, the historian rightly asserts to have been the case ; and if the Ebionites, under the precise aspect of *asserting our Lord to have been*

tinctly marked with that brand : then *The time of Justin* is contradistinguished from *The time of Irenèus* ; and, with reference to *The time of Justin*, then we are informed, that *The time of Irenèus* was AFTERWARD.

2. But, in the second of these two passages, when it is convenient for Dr. Priestley, to dress up a sort of concurring plot, oriental and occidental, to introduce the novel platonic doctrine of *The godhead of the Word* : then *The time of Justin* and *The time of Irenèus* are happily found to SYNCHRONISE ; and then we learn, that these two insidious Fathers, Justin in the East and Irenèus in the West, having been educated among the philosophers ABOUT THE SAME TIME, most harmoniously agreed to do the same thing.

III. *Some there are*, objects the Batchelor Carrasco, *who have taxed the author with want of memory or sincerity. For we find, by the story, that the ass was certainly stolen : and yet, by and by, we find its owner riding the same ass again, without any previous light given us into the matter.*

*nothing more than a mere man*, are explicitly pronounced by Irenèus to be heretics, which the historian acknowledges to be a clear matter of fact: I am at a loss to understand what he can mean by the statement; that *These persons were very far from being reckoned heretics* IN THE TIME OF JUSTIN, *as they were* BY IRENEUS AFTERWARD. The time of Justin and the time of Irenèus, save that Irenèus wrote about some twelve years after the martyrdom of Justin, were in truth *identical*. Hence the necessary result must be, that those, who were reckoned heretics in the time of Irenèus, were also reckoned heretics in the time of Justin<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Priestley's favourite argument is to the following effect.

The ONLY persons, who, under the specific appellation of *heretics*, troubled the early Church, were the Gnostics. Now the Ebionites were *not* Gnostics: and yet these very Ebionites constantly asserted the mere humanity of our Lord and steadily denied his divinity. Therefore persons, who asserted the mere humanity of our Lord and who denied his divinity, provided they did not superadd to this doctrine the special peculiarities of Gnosticism, were not in the early Church reckoned heretics.

I. Some very able men, chiefly (so far as I can find) on the insufficient testimony of Epiphanius, and certainly in opposition to the authority of Augustine and Theodoret and Irenèus when not gratuitously corrected, have contended: that the Ebionites, whom Dr. Priestley claims as exactly symbolising with the modern Humanitarians, were, after all, no other than a branch of the Gnostics, agreeing with the Cerinthians in their sentiments, not only respecting *Jesus*, but respecting *the Christ* also.

Doubtless, if this opinion could be established, Dr. Priestley

2. How this plain and obvious conclusion from the acknowledged declaration of Irenèus THE CON-

would immediately fall by his own weapon: for, in that case, it would be impossible to discover a single early impugner of our Lord's divinity or a single early maintainer of the mere humanity of Jesus, save among the Gnostics; who are by *himself* acknowledged to have ALWAYS been denominated *heretics*.

II. But, as I must freely confess that I have never yet seen the opinion established to my own satisfaction, and as I must own that the weight of evidence strikes myself as preponderating in the other scale (see above, append. i. numb. 2. sect. 4.): I shall be content to argue with Dr. Priestley on his own avowed premises.

1. In the early Church, he tells us, none, save the Gnostics, were reckoned heretics.

Now, by Irenèus, who was born in the year 97 and who wrote in and prior to the year 175, who consequently through all this period with the exception of the last twelve years was the contemporary of Justin Martyr, who was equally well acquainted with the Catholic Church both in the East and in the West, and who had received his own theology from the immediate disciple of St. John: by Irenèus, thus importantly circumstanced, the Ebionites are distinctly specified as heretics under the precise aspect of their asserting the mere humanity of our Saviour.

2. Such being the case, the argument of Dr. Priestley, however it be met, is alike invalid.

(1.) If the Ebionites were, as some have contended, a subdivision of the Cerinthian Gnostics: then, by his own confession, they must have been counted heretics; whence it will follow, that in the early Church not a single impugner of the divinity of Jesus can be discovered, to whom the charge of heresy did not attach.

(2.) If, on the contrary, as we are distinctly informed by



TEMPORARY OF JUSTIN can be escaped, I must confess myself unable to discern.

In his Dialogue with Trypho, Justin avows his dissent from the impugnors of Christ's divinity: but, not *there* treating *professedly* of the early heresies, he does not specifically or in so many words happen to call these Humanitarians by the name of *heretics* <sup>1</sup>. His contemporary Irenèus, on

Theodoret, the Ebionites agreed with Theodotus and Artemon in their opinion respecting *the Christ*, differing on this precise point from the Cerinthians who held that *the Christ* was a celestial Eon and that he descended upon the mere man *Jesus* at the time of his baptism; and if, consequently, in strict accordance with the parallel testimony of Irenèus and Augustine, the Ebionites were *not* a branch of the Gnostics: then, no less than on the other supposition, they still must have been deemed heretics; because, in matter of fact, we find them recorded as such by Irenèus, the contemporary of Justin, and therefore a decidedly primitive writer on that very subject.

3. In short, let us take the matter as we please, whether the Ebionites were or were not Gnostics, it will be alike impossible for Dr. Priestley to find any early asserters of our Lord's mere humanity, who were not from the very first pronounced to be heretics.

<sup>1</sup> Justin informs us, that he himself wrote a Work against ALL the then existing heresies.

Ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ ΠΑΣΩΝ τῶν γεγενημένων αἰρέσεων συντεταγμένον. Apol. i. Oper. p. 54.

The term ALL may seem to import, that he arranged as heretics certain other persons *beside* avowed and recognised Gnostics.

This Work has unfortunately perished; so that we are unable to speak positively: but, since we find his contemporary Ire-



the contrary, treating *professedly* of that precise subject, unhesitatingly applies the offensive title to religionists of this identical description. Hence the necessary result is: that, *In the days of the two contemporaries Justin and Irenèus, impugners of Christ's divinity were, under that specific aspect, considered in the light of heretics* <sup>1</sup>.

nèus associating, in the common charge of heresy, the Ebionites with the Gnostics and especially with the Cerinthians, because, though they symbolised not with them in all points (non similiter) respecting the nature of *Jesus Christ*, they at least agreed with them in asserting the bare humanity of *Jesus*; the presumption is, that Justin did the same as Irenèus, and that he uses the term ALL in reference not only to the various ramifications of the one grand heresy of Gnosticism but likewise to the distinct heresy of Ebionism.

<sup>1</sup> That Irenèus pronounces the Ebionites to be heretics on the simple broad ground of their asserting the mere humanity of our Saviour, is manifest from the following very strong passage; in which Humanitarianism, strictly *as* Humanitarianism, is pronounced to be a deadly error which excludes a person from eternal life.

Qui nudè tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, perseverantes in servitute pristinæ inobedienciæ moriuntur:—ignorantes autem eum qui ex Virgine est Emanuel, privantur munere ejus, quod est vita æterna. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 21. p. 212.

The declaration of Irenèus will establish the true exposition of a passage in the Epistles of Jerome, which, by writers of the Antitrinitarian School, has sometimes been adduced for the purpose of shewing, that a denial of our Lord's divinity was not in early times condemned as a heresy.

Si hoc verum est, in Cerinthi et Ebionis hæresim delabimur, qui, credentes in Christo, PROPTER HOC SOLUM a Patribus ana-

III. If, however, we may credit Dr. Priestley, *Justin speaks of his opinion as a doubtful one, and*

thematizati sunt, quod Legis cæremonias Christi Evangelio miscuerunt. Hieron. Epist. ad August. lxxxix. Oper. tom. ii. p. 265, 266. Colon. 1616.

I. Jerome, it is said, here distinctly states, that the SOLE cause, which produced the condemnation of Ebion, was his mingling the ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of Christ. Whence it follows, that, if he had *only* asserted the mere humanity of our Lord, he would not have been condemned as a heretic.

The palpable error of this plausible interpretation is readily manifested from the circumstance : that Jerome here *associates* the Humanitarian Ebion with the Gnostic Cerinthus, and that his expression PROPTER HOC SOLUM alike relates to *both*. Hence, if the SOLE cause, which produced the condemnation of Ebion, was his mingling the ceremonies of the Law with the Gospel of Christ : then the same mingling must have been the SOLE cause, which produced the condemnation of Cerinthus. And thus the result of the present interpretation will be : that, had Cerinthus *only* been a Gnostic, he would not have been condemned as a heretic.

II. Still it may be asked : What then is it, which Jerome *does* mean ?

1. A reply to this question is no very difficult matter.

Jerome merely wishes to intimate, that, even if there were no *other* reason than their Judaism, that ALONE, *independently of all other existing grounds*, were amply sufficient to justify the condemnation of Cerinthus and of Ebion. Whatever *else* they might hold, nothing *more* than this was necessary to convict them of heresy.

2. Such is the plain and necessary import of the passage.

Jerome esteemed both the Gnosticism of Cerinthus and the Humanitarianism of Ebion deadly heresies : for, on *these* points,

by no means propounds it as a necessary article of Christian Faith. Whence, distrusting the soundness of that hitherto unheard of novelty which he wished to introduce, and conscious that he had not the sanction of the majority along with him, he carefully provided a decent retreat for himself, in case his new speculation should be found untenable.

1. The passage, which in Dr. Priestley's hands is made to vouch for all these extraordinary circumstances, hard as it may be to credit the fact after the historian's grave citation of it for his own purpose, is merely and simply an instance of that very common mode of argumentation, which is built upon the acknowledged principles of an adversary.

Justin himself maintains: that *The promised Messiah of the Hebrews is undoubtedly God, even the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.* But, as Trypho contends that *The Christ was to be a mere man*; Justin is willing to argue with him upon his own theory: and, even thus, he undertakes to prove; that his Jewish adversary could have no just ground to deny the Messiahship of the man Jesus.

he fully agreed with Irenæus. But with such specialities his subject did not lead him to have any immediate concern. He was treating of a heresy common alike to Ebion and to Cerinthus (*Cerinthi et Ebionis hæresim*); the heresy, namely, of *the perpetual obligation of the ceremonial Law upon Christians*: and, on this account ALONE, to say nothing of any other ground, they were rightly anathematised (he remarks) by the Fathers.



*And now, Trypho, said I, the proposition, that JESUS IS THE CHRIST OF GOD, will not become null and void, even if I should be unable to shew: both that He preëxisted, inasmuch as he is God the Son of the Creator of all things; and likewise that He was, through the Virgin, made man. But, from the whole which has been demonstrated, it will still follow: that, Whoever in point of nature he may be, THIS PERSON IS THE CHRIST OF GOD. For, even if I could not demonstrate, that He pre-ëxisted, and that Having flesh according to the counsel of the Father he was born a man of like passions with ourselves: still, in this supposed case, you could with justice only say; that I had failed of my purpose. Because, even if it should appear that He had been born a mere human being from human beings, and even if it could be proved that He was only elected to become the Christ: still you would not, on that account, be warranted in denying, that THIS PERSON IS THE CHRIST<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Ἦδη μέντοι, ὃ Τρύφων, εἶπον, οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τὸ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ΕἶΝΑΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, ἐὰν ἀποδείξαι μὴ δύνωμαι, ὅτι καὶ προὔπηρχεν υἱὸς τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων Θεοῦ ὧν, καὶ γεγέννηται ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου, ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς ἀποδεικνυμένου ὅτι ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ Ο ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, ὅστις οὗτος ἔσται· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδεικνύω, ὅτι προὔπηρχε, καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπος ὁμοιοπαθῆς ἡμῖν σάρκα ἔχων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βουλήν ὑπέμεινεν, ἐν τούτῳ πεπλανῆσθαι με μόνον λέγειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ὅτι ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ἐὰν φαίνεται ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεννηθεὶς, καὶ ἐκλογὴ γενόμενος εἰς τὸ Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύηται. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 207.



2. Such is the clear and forcible argument of Justin : an argument, by which, on the disputatively allowed principles of his adversary, he undertakes to prove against him ; that, *Whatever may be the precise nature of the predicted Messiah, at all events JESUS OF NAZARETH IS THE CHRIST OF GOD.*

And then, immediately afterward, by way of illustration, and for the purpose of shewing the possibility of *An admission of the Messiahship of Jesus with a denial of his præexistence and divinity* : he puts down the other passage, so strangely (as we have seen) perverted and misapplied by Dr. Priestley.

*For there are some persons, O my friends, I went on to say, of our race, who confess him indeed to be the Christ, but who declare him to be merely a man born from men. With whom I agree not : neither would I agree ; not even if the most, who maintain however the very same doctrine as myself, should say so.*

3. Thus, the avowed object of Justin's argument is to establish, on the very principles of his adversary himself, the proposition : that JESUS OF NAZARETH IS THE CHRIST OF GOD. And the illustrative example, which he employs, is the case of the Ebionites.

The whole matter, argument and example together, will run to the following effect.

Even to argue with you on your own erroneous principles, O Trypho and ye other accompanying

Jews, you can have no solid ground for denying THE MESSIAHSHIP OF JESUS. Granting for a moment, that I cannot establish the point of his *divinity*; do I thence, of necessity, give up the point of his *messiahship*? Assuredly not. For some of your own countrymen, who claim to be of our religion, acknowledge his messiahship: while yet, like yourselves, they contend, that the Christ is a mere man. These Ebionites, indeed, as we are wont to call them, do not speak the language of the Church Catholic: and both I myself, and the great collective majority who agree with me, deem them wholly mistaken in their views. But this does not, at all, invalidate my present argument. I dispute with you, on *your own* erroneous principles. And, even on *those* principles, false as they are, I repeat it, you have no solid ground for denying, as a simple abstract truth, THE MESSIAHSHIP OF JESUS.

4. Than such a mode of reasoning with an adversary, nothing, as we all know, is more common. Yet, incredible as it may well seem, Dr. Priestley claims to learn from it: that *Justin speaks of his own opinion as a doubtful one*; that *He allows it to be by no means a necessary article of faith*; and that *He carefully provides for himself a decent retreat, in case he should be unable to establish it*.

These are the matters, which the historical sagacity of Dr. Priestley learns from Justin's *argumentum ad hominem*. And the account of his remarkable discoveries he triumphantly concludes,

by laying it down, as an indisputable truth : that *This is not the language of a man, very confident of his opinion, and who had the sanction of the majority along with him* <sup>1</sup>.

IV. But, whatever may have been the reception which the doctrine of Christ's divinity met with in that early age, Dr. Priestley inclines to believe : that Justin and his associates borrowed their idea of the new tenet from Plato and Philo.

*Having himself, says the historian, professed the doctrine of Plato, can it be thought extraordinary : that Justin eagerly caught at the doctrine of the LOGOS, which he found ready formed to his hands in the Works of Philo, and that he introduced it into the Christian System ; that Irenæus, who was also educated among the philosophers about the same time, did the same thing ; or that others, who were themselves sufficiently predisposed to act the same part, should follow their example* <sup>2</sup> ?

By the friends of Dr. Priestley, this speculation, I doubt not, has been deemed highly ingenious

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 1. Works, vol. v. p. 22. Much the same perversion of this very plain and familiar argument of Justin had already been adventured by Episcopus. He is answered by Bishop Bull, precisely as I have answered Dr. Priestley. Judic. Eccles. Cathol. c. vii. § 1—5. A very child might have seen, that Justin's argument is purely an *argumentum ad hominem*, founded on the principles of his adversary.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 2. Works, vol. v. p. 30.



and even altogether satisfactory. Yet, after all, the simple question is : *Whether the alleged FACT, which it propounds, rests upon any solid evidence ?*

1. At the beginning of the Dialogue with Trypho, Justin relates the singular and almost romantic circumstance which finally produced his conversion to Christianity.

As he was walking on the sea-shore, an unknown old man, whom he had never seen before and whom he never saw again, encountered him, and forthwith entered into conversation with him. Justin spoke largely of Plato and Pythagoras. In reply, the old man, who was a Christian, professed, somewhat unceremoniously, the most hearty contempt, both for Plato, and for Pythagoras, and for the whole generation of philosophers. *Nothing whatsoever, said he, do I care, either for Plato, or for Pythagoras, or (plainly to speak my mind) for any other person who advances such speculations*<sup>1</sup>. In their place, he offered to propound to his companion that which *alone* can be deemed solid and essential truth. His offer being accepted, he strenuously recommended the study of prophecy, as setting forth the one God and his Christ : and, at the close of his lecture, he added an admirable exhortation to prayer for spiritual knowledge and

<sup>1</sup> Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ, ἔφη, μέλει Πλάτωνος, οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρου, οὐδὲ ἀπλῶς οὐδένοσ ὅλως τοιαῦτα ἐοξάζοντος. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 172.



illumination. *Above all things, said the venerable stranger, pray, that the gates of light may be opened to you. For these matters will not be understood and comprehended, unless God and his Christ shall give to any one a right knowledge of them.* Here they parted: and Justin declares, that he immediately felt his whole love excited toward the prophets and those men who are the friends of Christ. *Revolving, says he, the old man's words within me, I found this to be the ONLY sure and beneficial philosophy. Thus, and on account of these things, became I a philosopher*<sup>1</sup>.

According, then, to Justin's *own* narrative of his conversion, he FORSOOK Platonism, in order that he might BECOME a Christian: and this circumstance of his having FORSAKEN it we find to be a matter of public notoriety.

Trifling accidental expressions will often do more in determining a point, than the longest and most elaborate argument. Of this nature is one of those, which are used by Trypho. I view it, as proving: not only that Justin, subsequent to his conversion, HAD UTTERLY RENOUNCED Platonism; but likewise that his renunciation of it was a fact WELL KNOWN and PERFECTLY FAMILIAR to his contemporaries.

<sup>1</sup> Διαλογιζόμενός τε πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, ταύτην ΜΟΝΗΝ εὕρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον. Οὕτως δὴ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φιλόσοφος ἐγώ. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 173, 174.

*It were better for you, says his jewish antagonist, to be STILL devoting yourself to the philosophy of Plato or of any other master, exercising fortitude and temperance and modesty, than to be deceived with lying words, and to be following men worth nothing* <sup>1</sup>.

The force of the evidence, contributed by this passage, rests obviously in the word STILL. Justin had been enamoured of Plato's speculations. He was now enamoured *no longer*. The expression, *It were better for you to be STILL devoting yourself to the philosophy of Plato*, implies: that he was well known to have *then* CEASED thus to devote himself.

2. Such is the account, which Justin *himself* gives of the revolution in his own sentiments.

Yet Dr. Priestley is quite sure: that the learned Father is mistaken: for, instead of *leaving Platonism behind him*, which he gratuitously describes the old man as reprobating in the most contemptuous terms; he *brought it along with him*, by way of improving what he himself styles *the ONLY sure and beneficial philosophy*.

*We have, says the historian, the most direct evidence of some of the most distinguished writers among the Christians being CHARMED with the doc-*

<sup>1</sup> "Αμεινον δὲ ἦν φιλοσοφεῖν ΕΤΙ σε τὴν Πλάτωνος ἢ ἄλλου του φιλοσοφίαν, ἀσκοῦντα καρτερίαν καὶ ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἢ λόγοις ἐξαπατηθῆναι ψευδέσι, καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀκολουθῆσαι οὐδένοσ ἀξίους. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 174.

*trines of Plato: but, especially, Justin Martyr. Marks of Justin's fondness for this philosophy appear in many parts of his writings: and it is not to be wondered at, as he had been addicted to it before he came to be a Christian. He says: THE NOTION OF INCORPOREAL THINGS, AND THE DOCTRINE OF IDEAS, CHARMED ME. What mischief was done to the Christian System by this doctrine of ideas, will presently appear*<sup>1</sup>.

Where Dr. Priestley has discovered the *many* parts of Justin's writings, which, *after* he became a Christian, *still* display his fondness for Platonism, I shall not pretend to determine. *He* may have diligently observed, what *I* have carelessly overlooked. *One* passage, however, from the Dialogue with Trypho, he adduces in evidence: and, to that *solitary* passage, I must of necessity confine myself.

The point, to be established, is: *Justin's fondness for Platonism AFTER he became a Christian; which led to the unhappy result of his largely adulterating the Gospel with that philosophy.*

And the testimony, which is to establish this point, is a passage wherein he says: THE NOTION OF INCORPOREAL THINGS, AND THE DOCTRINE OF IDEAS, CHARMED ME.

Now, even if Justin, SUBSEQUENT TO his con-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book ii. chap. 1. Works, vol. vi. p. 199.



version, had been ever so much charmed with the platonic notion of incorporeal things and with the platonic doctrine of ideas ; which, according to Dr. Priestley, by his introduction of them into the Christian System, did an infinitude of mischief : still I see not, how *this* would be any proof of the real ultimate matter in debate ; namely, that *Justin, from Platonism, was the first person, who brought into Christianity the doctrine of the Divine Word and of the Trinity.*

Where, I ask, from the writings of Justin, is the historian's proof of *that* specific matter ?

Perhaps it will be said : that, if Justin was charmed with the doctrine of ideas, he might be equally charmed with *another* platonic doctrine ; and, if he introduced the *one* into Christianity, we cannot think it extraordinary (as Dr. Priestley speaks) that he should eagerly catch at the *other*.

This inductive reasoning may be *very ingenious* : but, even if its premises were secure, still, I fear, it would not be *very solid*. What, then, shall we say, when the premises *themselves* only afford an instance of Dr. Priestley's utter disregard of truth, when a controversial turn is to be served ?

The historian *cites* a passage from Justin : to demonstrate, *his fondness for Platonism AFTER his conversion, and his consequent ready introduction of it into Christianity.*

But he completely *suppresses* that part of the passage, in which Justin states : that *his fondness*



*for Platonism prevailed only BEFORE his conversion ; and that, AFTER his conversion, he became fully convinced of the stupendous profundity of his former folly.*

As Dr. Priestley has not thought it expedient to cite more than *half* the sentence, and as the meaning of Justin will not be distinctly perceived unless we have *the whole* : I shall supply the deficiency by an additional adduction of *the remaining half*.

Dissatisfied with his previous philosophical instructors, the Stoic and the Peripatetic and the Pythagorèan, Justin finally attached himself to an intelligent Platonist, under whose tuition he made a considerable progress <sup>1</sup>.

Now, be it carefully observed, Justin, in the passage imperfectly cited by Dr. Priestley, is speaking of his admiration of Platonism, not AFTER he became a Christian, but BEFORE he became a Christian : for he is speaking of this his admiration, WHILE he was pursuing his philosophical studies with his platonic instructor. And, accordingly, AFTER he became a Christian, he freely confesses his former folly, in having vainly, through such means, hoped to attain the professed end of the philosophy of Plato.

THE NOTION OF INCORPOREAL THINGS GREATLY DELIGHTED ME : AND THE THEORY OF IDEAS SEEMED

<sup>1</sup> Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 168, 169.

TO GIVE NEW WINGS TO MY MIND. *So that, in a short time, I fancied: that I had become a wise man. And, in my sottish folly, I even hoped: that I should soon distinctly behold God. For that is the end of Plato's philosophy* <sup>1</sup>.

By the expression of *distinctly beholding God*, Justin alludes, I apprehend, to the enthusiasm of that mystic quietism: which itself was deduced from the writings of Plato; and which, in the *third* century, the *later* Platonists of the Alexandrian School finally carried to such a length, that they claimed to be occasionally united to the Supreme God, who sometimes was himself alleged to have appeared to them though he has neither form nor idea.

This was the great boast of Plotinus and Porphyry: the latter of whom gravely tells us; that he himself, the man Porphyry to wit, was once, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, thus united; and that he had been the highly privileged witness of no less than four such unions in the person of the wise Plotinus <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Καί με ἤρει σφόδρα ἡ τῶν ἀσωμάτων νόησις, καὶ ἡ θεωρία τῶν ἰδεῶν ἀνεπτέρου μοι τὴν φρόνησιν· ὀλίγου τε ἐντὸς χρόνου ᾗ μιν σοφὸς γεγονέναι· καὶ, ὑπὸ βλακειίας, ἠλπίζον αὐτίκα κατ-όψεσθαι τὸν Θεόν· τοῦτο γὰρ τέλος τῆς Πλάτωνος φιλοσοφίας. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Πολλάκις ἐνάγοντι (scil. Plotino) ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν πρῶτον καὶ ἐπέκεινα Θεὸν ταῖς ἐννοίαις, ἐφάνη ἐκεῖνος ὁ μήτε μορφήν μήτε τινὰ ἰδέαν ἔχων, ὑπὲρ δὲ νοῦν καὶ πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν ἰδρυμένος· ᾗ

That honest inquirer Justin, however, was, through God's grace, reserved for better things than such bootless vagaries. Platonism was his last pagan speculation : and we here see, how he speaks of it AFTER he had embraced, what he rightly calls, *the ONLY sure and beneficial philosophy*. Full of his theory of ideas and his hope of distinctly beholding God, through a mysterious union with, or an absorption into, the divine essence ; he entered into his memorable conversation with the aged man upon the sea-shore. And the result was : that he soon *heartily despised*, what, BEFORE his conversion, he had, in his acknowledged sottish folly, *admired*<sup>1</sup>.

ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Πορφύριος ἅπαξ λέγω πλησιάσαι καὶ ἐνωθῆναι.—  
Τέλος αὐτῶ (scil. Plotino) καὶ σκοπὸς ἦν, τὸ ἐνωθῆναι καὶ πελάσαι  
τῶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῶ· ἔτυχε δὲ τετράκις πον, ὅτε συνήμην αὐτῶ,  
τοῦ σκοποῦ τούτου. Porphy. in vit. Plotin. apud Cudw. Intell.  
Syst. book i. chap. 4. p. 549.

<sup>1</sup> Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 167—174. With a whimsical sort of gravity, Dr. Priestley concedes the acknowledgment of the early christian writers : that *They did not adopt the principles of Plato QUITE indiscriminately*.

*In our assertion, says Justin, that All things were produced and arranged by God, we shall seem to follow the dogma of Plato : and, in our belief that There will be a general conflagration, that of the Stoics.* Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 51.

The historian's concession, I suppose, is meant to intimate : that *An acknowledgment of not quite indiscriminate adoption is a tacit acknowledgment of partial adoption*.

But, if the preceding passage, as cited by Dr. Priestley, will

3. But, all this notwithstanding, Justin, according to Dr. Priestley, received the ready formed tenet of THE LOGOS from Philo, as Philo had received it from Plato.

Justin, no doubt, had been a Platonist : and Philo the Jew also was confessedly a disciple of the same School. Still, after all, since the question is purely A QUESTION OF FACT ; and since it may be fairly denied, that Dr. Priestley has any right to indulge in *mere unauthorised conjecture* : it seems only equitable to hear *their own* account of the source, whence they severally professed to derive their doctrine of THE LOGOS.

(1.) With respect to Philo, from whom, according to Dr. Priestley, Justin borrowed the tenet ready formed to his hands, as Philo had previously borrowed it from Plato : Philo himself, so far from

establish the partial *Platonism* of Justin AFTER his conversion to Christianity, it will equally establish his partial *Stoicism*.

Than such a citation, what can be more ridiculously irrelevant ?

Did Justin and the early Fathers, forsooth, LEARN and ADOPT *the divine creation and the final conflagration of the world* from the philosophy of the Greeks ?

Were they wholly ignorant, until they had been TAUGHT by Plato and by Zeno, what apparently they *might* have learned from Moses and from Peter : that *God created the world* ; and that *Ultimately it will be destroyed by fire* ?

Until controversially instructed by Dr. Priestley, I was not aware that *Partial COINCIDENCE of opinion is a sure proof of discriminating ADOPTION or of eclectic MUTUATION*.



owning any obligation to *Plato*, builds his doctrine of THE PERSONAL WORD OF JEHOVAH upon a *well known remarkable text in the book of Exodus*<sup>1</sup>. For, in his probative interpretation of that text, he identifies *the Divine Word* with *the Angel in whom is the name of Jehovah*<sup>2</sup>.

Now, whether he be right, or whether he be wrong, in his *opinion*, is nothing to the *present* question. *We* are simply concerned with his own account of the *derivation* of a doctrine.

The case, then, stands, in manner following.

Philo teaches, as a theological truth, the tenet of THE PERSONAL WORD OF JEHOVAH: and this tenet, in point of *authoritative origination*, he claims to *found* upon a text in the book of Exodus.

A man, therefore, who attempts to build his doctrine *upon Scripture*, professedly, by the very act of such an attempt, makes *Scripture* its *authoritative source and foundation*.

Probably enough, Philo might wish to *identify*

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxiii. 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Καθάπερ γάρ τινα ποιμνην, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τούτοις φυτὰ τε αὖ καὶ ζῶα, τὰ μὲν θνητὰ, τὰ δὲ θεῖα· ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὐρανοῦ φύσιν, καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης περιόδους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων τροπὰς τε αὖ καὶ χορείας ἐναρμονίους· ὡς ποιμῆν καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἄγει κατὰ δίκην καὶ νόμον, προστησάμενος τὸν ὄρθον αὐτοῦ Λόγον πρωτόγονον Υἱὸν, ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης, οἷά τι μέγαλον βασιλέως ὑπαρχος διαδέξεται· καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται πον· Ἴδου ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἀποστελῶ Ἄγγελόν μου εἰς πρόσωπόν σου, τοῦ φυλάξαι σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. Phil. Jud. de Agricult. Oper. p. 195.

the LOGOS of the Platonic School, with the WORD OR VOICE OR ANGEL of Jehovah as mentioned in the Old Testament. But still his professed *authority*, for the doctrine itself of the LOGOS, is *Moses*, not *Plato*.

(2.) In a similar manner, with respect to Justin Martyr, that very ancient Father of the Church, who *himself* should best know whence he received both the name and the doctrine of THE LOGOS, instead of deducing them either from *Plato* or from *Philo*, avowedly fetches them from *the Scriptures of the Old Testament*.

*I will produce to you*, says he, *another testimony FROM THE SCRIPTURES : that, in the beginning, before all creatures, the Deity beget from himself a certain rational Power ; which Power is, by the Holy Ghost, denominated, sometimes The Glory of the Lord, sometimes The Son, sometimes The Wisdom, sometimes The Angel, sometimes God, sometimes The Lord and THE WORD. At other times, again, he styles himself The Chief Captain : as when he appeared, in a human form, to Joshua the Son of Nun. For, both from his ministering to his Father's will, and likewise from his being born according to his Father's good pleasure, by all those several names is he distinguished*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Μαρτύριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἡμῖν, ὧ φίλοι, ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δώσω, ὅτι ἀρχὴν, πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων, ὁ Θεὸς γέγεννηκε Δύναμιν τινὰ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν, ἣτις καὶ Δόξα Κυρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου καλεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ Υἱὸς, ποτὲ δὲ Σο-

The scriptural testimony, which, agreeably to his promise, Justin produces, for the purpose of authoritatively demonstrating, that *A certain rational Power was, from the beginning, begotten of the Father before all creatures*, is taken from the eighth chapter of the book of Proverbs<sup>1</sup>. And, ere he brings it forward, he, a second time, specifies the appellation of THE WORD among those titles of the Son, which he considers to be employed by the inspired writers of the Old Testament<sup>2</sup>.

Now, here again, as before in the case of Philo, the question is: not *Whether Justin was right, or whether Justin was wrong, in his doctrinal system*; but, simply, *Whence Justin derived his doctrinal system*.

To have stated to a *jewish* opponent, that *He adopted his tenet of THE PERSONAL WORD on the authority of St. John*, and that *From the inspired exordium of that Apostle's Gospel it was universally received as a divine truth in the Christian Church*:

φία, ποτέ δὲ Ἄγγελος, ποτέ δὲ Θεός, ποτέ δὲ Κύριος καὶ ΛΟΓΟΣ. Ποτέ δὲ Ἀρχιστράτηγον ἑαυτὸν λέγει, ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ φανέντα τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦ. Ἔχειν γὰρ πάντα προσονομάζεσθαι, ἕκ τε τοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν τῷ πατρικῷ βουλήματι, καὶ ἕκ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς θελήσει γεννηθῆσθαι. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 221.

<sup>1</sup> Prov. viii. 22—36.

<sup>2</sup> Μαρτυρήσει δέ μοι ὁ λόγος τῆς Σοφίας, αὐτὸς ὢν οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων γεννηθεὶς, καὶ ΛΟΓΟΣ, καὶ Σοφία, καὶ Δύναμις, καὶ Δόξα τοῦ γεννήσαντος ὑπάρχων, καὶ διὰ Σολομῶνος φήσαντος ταῦτα. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 221.

would, in *such* a dispute, have plainly been quite nugatory. Very wisely, therefore, he goes *further back*: and resorts to an *authority*, which Trypho, *as a Jew*, could not disallow.

Hence, if we may believe Justin's own statement, both the name and the doctrine of THE PERSONAL WORD, as propounded by St. John with reference to Christ, and as received from him by the whole Catholic Church, were, *ultimately*, in strict theological harmony, deduced, not from *Plato* or from *Philo*, but from *The familiar phraseology of the Old Testament*.

Justin, like many of the old Fathers, was fond of exhibiting Plato and the Greek Philosophers, as the *plagiarists* of Moses and the Prophets. Hence, in the LOGOS of the Platonists, he was not unwilling fancifully to *discover* the scriptural WORD OF JEHOVAH <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See below, book ii. chap. 8. § iv. *Discoveries or distortions* of a somewhat similar nature, let us call them which we please, characterised also the School of the later Platonists: which may be viewed, as commencing with Ammonius, himself a Christian, about the close of the second century. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 19.

These operations proceeded so successfully, that Porphyry, in the third century, as an explanation of the tenets of his master Plato, asserts, even in so many words: that *The substance of the Godhead advances to three hypostases*.

Ἴδὸν δὴ σαφῶς ἐν τούτοις, ἄχρη τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν τοῦ Θείου προελθεῖν οὐσίαν, ἰσχυρίζεται. Porphyr. apud Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. i. p. 34.

Justin



But, as for his adopting the plan of *actual mutation* ascribed to him by Dr. Priestley, *he himself*, by a plain consequence, *altogether disavows it*. For, in respect to *ultimate derivation*, he professes to fetch, both the name and the doctrine of THE PERSONAL WORD, from *the sacred books of the Hebrews*.

4. The most extraordinary part of the whole matter yet remains to be stated.

Although, according to Dr. Priestley, the christian tenets of THE TRINITY and of THE PERSONAL WORD OF GOD were certainly, by Justin, borrowed from Platonism: yet still, according to the same Dr. Priestley, Platonism itself contains nothing which at all resembles them.

*Thus have I given*, says the historian, *the best view that I have been able to collect of every thing, that can be supposed to constitute the TRINITY of Plato, from his own writings: WITHOUT FINDING IN THEM*

Justin chronologically *preceded* these later Platonists. From *them*, therefore, it cannot be pretended, that he borrowed the doctrines of THE TRINITY and THE LOGOS.

Each, in truth, *discovered* in Plato, what Plato *himself* never dreamed of.

The avowed rationale of the *discovery*, when conducted by the Fathers of the Church, was, as I have already intimated: that *The Pagans had corruptedly borrowed the doctrines of THE TRINITY and THE LOGOS from Moses and the Prophets*.

But this very humour of fanciful *discovery*, on the part of Justin and others, is alone sufficient to shew: that they could not themselves have *received* those doctrines from Plato.

ANY RESEMBLANCE, TO THE CHRISTIAN TRINITY, OR INDEED TO ANY PROPER PERSONIFICATION OF THE DIVINE LOGOS WHICH HAS BEEN MADE THE SECOND PERSON IN IT <sup>1</sup>.

This remark of Dr. Priestley evidently surrenders the very basis of his favourite argument.

If Plato were *ignorant* of A DIVINE TRINITY OF PERSONS, and if he *knew nothing* of A REALLY PERSONAL WORD OF GOD: how could Justin have *borrowed* from Plato, and from his philosophy have *introduced* into Christianity, a system, which Plato *himself*, all the while, *confessedly had never propounded*?

The stream *cannot* rise higher than the fountain: and, clearly, Plato could not have *taught*, to Justin, doctrines, of which he himself was *ignorant* <sup>2</sup>.

V. It is, however, a matter of very small importance, WHERE Justin might have *procured* his novel doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book i. chap. 6. Works, vol. vi. p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> A similar unguarded, but fatal, concession occurs also in Dr. Priestley's Letters to Bp. Horsley.

*As to the TRINITY of Plato, it was certainly a thing very unlike your Athanasian Doctrine. For it was never imagined: that the three component members of that Trinity were, either equal to each other, or (strictly speaking) one.*

Here, again, Dr. Priestley destroys his own foundation. Justin could not have *borrowed* from Plato, what Plato *himself*, according to the historian, *never so much as imagined*.

Whether he borrowed it from the School of Plato, in which, after Dr. Priestley's most diligent researches, it cannot be found; or whether, without any extrinsic aid, he was sufficiently ingenious to invent it himself: whatever may have been its fancied origin, the sole *really* serious part of the matter is the grave allegation, on the word of a professed historian; that *He first* ADVANCED and INTRODUCED *it into the hitherto strictly antitrinitarian and humanitarian Church Catholic.*

I give Dr. Priestley's own words, carefully selected from four several places of his two Histories.

*Justin Martyr was THE FIRST, that we can find to have ADVANCED the doctrine of the divinity of Christ*<sup>1</sup>.

*We find nothing like divinity ascribed to Christ, BEFORE Justin Martyr*<sup>2</sup>.

*From a careful perusal of the writings of Justin, I cannot help thinking: that he was THE FIRST, or ONE OF THE FIRST, who ADVANCED the doctrine of the permanent personality of the Logos*<sup>3</sup>.

*Can it be thought extraordinary: that Justin, having himself professed the doctrine of Plato, eagerly caught at the doctrine of the Logos which he found ready formed to his hands in the Works*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 3. Works, vol. v. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 2. Works, vol. v. p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 2. Works, vol. v. p. 30.

*of Philo, and INTRODUCED it into the Christian System*<sup>1</sup>?

Against the integrity of the martyred philosophical convert; who yet, on the preceding hypothesis, must actually have laid down his life, not for the Gospel of Christ, but for a speculation unaccountably borrowed from Plato who himself all the while had never maintained it: this is, surely, a grave allegation. And it is the more grave: because, instead of making it lightly and carelessly, Dr. Priestley professes to build it upon *a careful perusal of the writings of Justin*. Well, therefore, does it deserve and require a close and serious examination.

1. Now I cannot refrain from thinking it reasonable: that, on a point so strictly personal, we should hear an ancient author's *own* statement of the rise and progress of his opinions. And, indeed, since Dr. Priestley professes to deduce his representation of the matter *from a careful perusal of Justin's writings*: no one of his admirers can fairly object to *my* appealing to the *same* unquestionable authority.

The historian asserts: that *Justin* INTRODUCED, *into the hitherto strictly humanitarian Church, the NOVEL doctrine of Christ's divinity*.

But Justin himself, at least as I read his Greek,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book ii. chap. 2. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 208.



declares : that *Both he and his contemporaries LEARNED that doctrine in the Church, while receiving, in order to their baptism, catechumenical instruction.*

Consequently, we have his own authority for stating : that, *Instead of INTRODUCING the doctrine INTO the Church, he really FOUND it IN the Church.*

It may seem strange, that the historian and myself, each from an alleged perusal of the writings of Justin, should have arrived at two such diametrically opposite conclusions. Yet so it certainly is.

With respect to Dr. Priestley, if *any single place* in the whole Works of Justin can be found, which authorises his assertion ; that *Justin borrowed the doctrine of Christ's divinity from the School of Plato, and that Justin was the first who introduced that doctrine into the Christian System* : let it, by all means, be brought forward.

With respect to myself, as I have been unable to discover any such place in any part of the writings of that Father, I scruple not openly to state : that, *In no portion of his Works, does Justin give the slightest warrant for Dr. Priestley's perfectly gratuitous imputation.*

Should my statement be erroneous, it may, by the diligent reader of the martyred philosopher, be easily corrected.

Meanwhile, until that correction shall be administered, I shall occupy myself with producing

the passages, which have led me to adopt an opinion the very opposite of that which is favoured by the historian.

(1.) Throughout his whole Dialogue with Trypho, Justin NEVER speaks as the hesitating advocate of a consciously NOVEL speculation first started by *himself*.

On the contrary: he both appears, as pleading for the RECEIVED and WELL KNOWN doctrines of *the entire Church Catholic*; and he is evidently viewed, in that light, by his Jewish adversary.

Had he been starting AN UNAUTHORISED AND GENERALLY REPROBATED NOVELTY, Trypho, we may be sure, would not have failed to tell him: that he was departing from the PROFESSED tenets even of *his own* sect.

But nothing of the sort can be detected in any part of the Dialogue.

Trypho invariably argues, not against *The mere insulated speculatist Justin*, but against *The entire Church of which he deems Justin as it were the accredited representative*.

This circumstance, to omit numerous other instances sufficiently marked by the very tone of the speaker, strikingly displays itself in a passage, which I have already had occasion to quote, and which immediately follows the passages so strangely perverted by Dr. Priestley.

*Trypho replied: Those persons, who say, that Jesus was born a mere man, and that By election*

he was anointed, *and that* He became the Christ, *seem to me to speak more credibly, than YOU who say the same things that THOU sayest*<sup>1</sup>.

The asserters of Christ's mere humanity were evidently *the Ebionites*, to whom Justin had immediately before alluded: and the persons, of whom Trypho speaks *plurally* as agreeing with Justin, are indisputably that numerous body which Justin had previously mentioned as holding the same sentiments with himself; in other words, they are *The constituent members of the whole Catholic Church viewed contradistinctively from schismatics and heretics*.

(2.) Accordingly, Trypho, in an earlier part of the Dialogue, unambiguously expresses himself, as being well aware: that, *In combating JUSTIN, he was combating THE ENTIRE COLLECTIVE BODY OF UNITED CHRISTIANS*.

*It would have been far better for us*, says he angrily to Justin, *if we had followed the advice of our teachers, and had conversed with NO ONE OF YOU*<sup>2</sup>.

The reason assigned is; *Because, in the estimation of a Jew, many blasphemies were spoken:*

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων, Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκοῦσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ λέγοντες ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι αὐτὸν, καὶ κατ' ἐκλογὴν κευχρίσθαι, καὶ Χριστὸν γεγονέναι, πιθανώτερον ΥΜΩΝ λέγειν τῶν ταῦτα ἄπερ ΦΗΙΣ λεγόντων. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων εἶπεν, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, καλὸν ἦν πεισθέντας ἡμᾶς τοῖς διδασκάλοις νομοθετήσασι, ΜΗΔΕΝΙ ΕΞ ΥΜΩΝ ὀμιλεῖν. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 198.

such as, that *Jesus was the person who talked with Moses and Aaron in the pillar of the cloud*; that *That person became man*; and that *He ought to be worshipped with divine honours*.

Now, the *plural* phraseology, adopted by Trypho in giving vent to his indignation, NO ONE OF YOU, would have been quite nugatory: if he had supposed; that he was merely disputing with the insulated introducer of a then *novel* tenet, notoriously rejected *as yet*, through the very necessity of chronology (for, when Justin conversed with Trypho, he had himself been a convert barely six years; in which short time, it was morally impossible for the zealous neophyte to have effected an universal corruption), by the Christian Church at large.

Unless it had been a well known fact; that *The great body of believers, in every quarter of the globe, both THEN held with Justin, and had ALWAYS from the very first maintained the same doctrine*: Trypho could never have said to Justin, NO ONE OF YOU.

Had his opponent, with a few speculative followers only, been THEN engaged in introducing a *new* doctrine, which differed radically from the well known *old* doctrine of the entire Catholic Church: Trypho's language would obviously have been; *We had better have followed the advice of our teachers, and have conversed with no one of you*



*vain innovators, who depart even from the tenets of your own communion.*

In truth : Against *whom* did Trypho's rabbinical teachers caution him ?

Was it against *Justin and a few innovating speculativists* only ?

Clearly not. Trypho had been cautioned against conversing with *Christians in general*. And the distinctly assigned REASON of the caution was : that *He could not fail to hear from them doctrines respecting Jesus of Nazareth, which a Jew would deem positive blasphemies.*

Agreeably to the tenor of such a caution, these very doctrines which give so much offence to Trypho ; the doctrines, namely, that *Jesus conversed with the old Patriarchs, that Jesus spake to Moses from the burning bush declaring himself to be the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, that Jesus was present with Israel in the pillar of fire, that Jesus became man and yet was very God* : these identical doctrines, instead of being a *new* speculation of *the mere individual Justin*, actually appear in one of the *ancient Symbols of the Catholic Church* which has happily been preserved by Tertullian<sup>1</sup>.

(3.) Let us, however, finally hear Justin's own

<sup>1</sup> Variè visum patriarchis. Symbol. vetust. apud Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæer. Oper. p. 100. See above, book i. chap. 6. § v. 1.

explicit declaration, in regard to the quarter, whence he and his christian contemporaries alike learned those doctrines; which he is alleged, thirty six years after the death of St. John, and barely six years after his own conversion, to have so successfully INTRODUCED into all the various provincial branches of Christ's Church Catholic.

BOTH HIM THE FATHER; AND THE SON, WHO CAME FORTH FROM HIM (*and who, respecting these things, instructed both us and the army of the other good angels who follow him and who are made like unto him*); AND THE PROPHETIC SPIRIT: THESE WE WORSHIP AND WE ADORE, *honouring them in word and in truth; and, to any person who wishes to learn, freely imparting,* AS WE OURSELVES HAVE BEEN TAUGHT<sup>1</sup>.

This declaration occurs in a public Apology: wherein Justin, appropriately using the *plural* form, pleads, *in the name and on the behalf of the whole collective body of his suffering brethren,* to the reigning Emperor Antoninus Pius. And, if, with requisite variation, I may be allowed to borrow the words of Dr. Priestley: it is not couched in the language of a man, who from Plato and from Philo

<sup>1</sup> 'Αλλ' Ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν ἐλθόντα (καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν), Πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικόν, σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 43.

had recently started a very singular NOVELTY, and who well knew that he had not along with him the sanction of the majority.

WE CHRISTIANS, says he, as the accredited apologetic annunciator of the leading doctrines maintained by the Catholic Church, and as the faithful narrator of the mode in which he and his contemporaries had received such doctrines: WE CHRISTIANS ADORE GOD, THE FATHER AND THE SON AND THE SPIRIT. Nor is this any NEW doctrine and practice, recently and unwarrantably introduced among us. To any person who wishes to learn our Theological System, we freely and ungrudgingly impart it, AS WE OURSELVES HAVE BEEN TAUGHT BY OUR CHRISTIAN PREDECESSORS <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, *As we ourselves have been taught.* So speaks Justin, in a public Apology, of himself and of his believing contemporaries, with reference to the joint adoration of the Father and the Son and the Spirit. *As we have been taught.*

Now *by whom* were Justin and his believing contemporaries taught the doctrine and the adoration of the Father and the Son and the Spirit? *By whom* were they so convinced of the truth and of the propriety both of the tenet and of the practice; that they were ready to deliver to any person, who was desirous of learning, both the one and the other, even as they themselves had been taught?

Shall we say, with Dr. Priestley: that Justin and his believing contemporaries were *thus* taught from the writings of Plato and of Philo; and that, *having* been thus taught, they forthwith *introduced*, what they *learned*, into the Christian System, which,



Such is the public declaration of Justin : a declaration, which, in the very nature of things,

*anterior* to such introduction, knew *nothing* of either the doctrine or the practice ?

Or shall we rather say, as that valuable monitor *Common Sense* seems pretty plainly to charge us : that Justin and his believing contemporaries were *thus* taught, within the pale of the Catholic Church, by those regular episcopally appointed Catechists ; whose office it was to prepare the Catechumens for their public baptismal profession of, Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Θεόν· τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, *I believe in God : the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ?*

I. Never let the honest christian inquirer forget Justin's unequivocal and decisive Ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν.

As, from the very first, the primitive believers were *themselves* taught, within the pale of the Catholic Church, and by her regularly appointed public officers, conjointly to adore the Father and the Son and the Spirit : so were they ready to deliver, both the practice and the doctrine involved in the practice, to *any person* who might wish to learn the sincere faith of the Gospel.

II. Yet, strange to say, notwithstanding the distinctness of Justin's Ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, Dr. Priestley actually puts down, in one of his Histories, the following statement.

*Whether Justin Martyr was THE VERY FIRST who started the notion of the præexistence of Christ and of his superangelic or divine nature, is not certain. But WE ARE UNABLE TO TRACE IT ANY HIGHER.* Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 2. Works, vol. v. p. 29.

1. What, with Justin's Works open before him, was the historian unable to trace what he calls the *notion* of Christ's præexistence and godhead any higher than Justin *himself* : when this very writer, in a public Apology, openly declares ; that both he and his believing contemporaries had been *taught*, by



could never have been made, if Justin *himself*, having learned from Plato and from Philo *the divinity of the personal Word*, were the FIRST who INTRODUCED it into the Catholic Church; a declaration, therefore, utterly incompatible with Dr. Priestley's wild unsupported theory respecting the fancied machinations of Justin.

2. It is a somewhat curious circumstance: that, although the historian wishes to exhibit Justin, as THE ORIGINAL ADVANCER AND INTRODUCER OF THE DOCTRINES OF CHRIST'S PREEXISTENCE AND DIVINITY; yet his language evinces a degree of faltering uncertainty, which is not a little remarkable.

their ecclesiastical *predecessors*, the joint adoration of the Son with the Father and the Spirit; and therefore of course had *also* been *taught*, unless we make those ecclesiastical predecessors rank venders of idolatry, the doctrine of the proper essential divinity of the Son?

2. By his plural phraseology, Justin expressly vouches for the universal reception of the doctrine, not only by the Christians of *his own* generation, but likewise by the Christians of the generation which *preceded* him. The doctrine was TAUGHT, both to him and to his contemporaries, by their ecclesiastical *predecessors*: who *themselves*, by the very necessity of chronology, must have touched the age of St. John and the Apostles. Hence, I suppose, if the doctrine was TAUGHT, the doctrine must have been HELD, by Justin's *predecessors* in the Church Catholic.

3. Yet, though Dr. Priestley is not quite sure, whether Justin was the *very* first who started the doctrine in question: still, with his utmost diligence of historical research, he is *unable to trace it any higher*.

*With respect to THE PRECISE TIME WHEN, or THE PARTICULAR PERSONS BY WHOM, they were introduced, says he, there is less certainty to be had. This, however, is of no great consequence: it being sufficient to shew; that They came in from some foreign source, and After the age of the Apostles: which accounts for their not noticing the doctrines at all*<sup>1</sup>.

(1.) In my views of historical evidence, I am constrained altogether to differ from Dr. Priestley.

So far from its being of *no great consequence* to ascertain THE PRECISE TIME WHEN, and THE PARTICULAR PERSONS BY WHOM, the doctrines in question were introduced; if indeed, *subsequently* to the age of the Apostles, they were *ever* introduced into a professedly humanitarian Church: it strikes me, as being a matter even of *vital consequence* to the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism.

If, in regard to the nature of Christ, the Apostles and the earliest Church were decidedly humanitarian: most certainly, somewhere or other, both THE PRECISE TIME WHEN, and THE PARTICULAR PERSONS BY WHOM, was introduced so vast and so portentous an innovation as the doctrine of *The really mere man Christ's proper and essential divinity*, must have been specifically recorded, and therefore might be easily ascertained.

A trifling ceremony, or even some small cor-

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. book i. chap. 1. Works, vol. vi. p. 53.

ruption of a sound doctrine, might, no doubt, have been introduced, without attracting the special notice of any contemporary writer. But the *sudden transition* from the *bare humanity* to the *proper divinity* of Christ (for never let it be forgotten, that, as the doctrine of the Church Catholic, Justin, again and again, asserts Christ to be Jehovah the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob); and *this transition* too (by the hypothesis), in the very early age of Justin, or even in an age yet prior to that of Justin, when the true doctrine of the Apostles must *inevitably* have been known in all the successions of the Catholic Church: *such a transition* is far too extraordinary and too marked a circumstance to have occurred without comment or observation<sup>1</sup>.

The name of each heresiarch, with the peculiarities of his innovation upon the primitive faith, has been duly and minutely recorded.

To imagine, therefore, that the name of the daring speculatist, who, in direct opposition to the alleged primeval doctrine of *Christ's mere humanity*, first introduced into the Church the doctrine of *Christ's proper divinity*, should never, by any single writer, have been distinctly specified and faithfully preserved, is to imagine the very wildest incredibility.

Had any such introduction ever *really* occurred,

<sup>1</sup> See above, book i. chap. 10.



we may be quite sure, when Irenèus so boldly appealed to *universality* and *priority* against all the existing heresies of the day : that some favourer of the ebionitic speculation would have confronted him with the precise name and the precise age of the adventurous individual, who, into the originally humanitarian and antitrinitarian Church, first introduced, with such wonderful success, the novel doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity.

The preceding passage I consider, as a virtual, though reluctant, confession, on the part of Dr. Priestley : that, although he has laboured hard to make out a case for Justin Martyr, he found himself quite unable to specify, either THE PRECISE TIME WHEN, OR THE PARTICULAR PERSONS BY WHOM, the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity were first introduced into the Church Catholic.

Hence, the requisition, which Dr. Priestley makes upon the faith of the Trinitarian, will stand, I apprehend, in manner following.

Through every age, so far as we can learn from existing historical documents, the Catholic Church has uniformly maintained : that the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity were doctrines, taught by, and handed down from, the Apostles themselves.

Without a shadow of proof, Dr. Priestley as-



serts : that those doctrines came into the Church, from some foreign source, AFTER the age of the Apostles. For, though he wishes to give the credit of the matter to Justin Martyr, he reluctantly confesses : that he is unable to specify, either THE PRECISE TIME WHEN, OR THE PARTICULAR PERSONS BY WHOM, they were introduced into the Church.

Yet would he fain persuade the sturdy Trinitarian, as he seems to have persuaded the more facile disciples of his own School : that this palpable defect in his evidence is of no great consequence ; and that his crude unsupported speculation ought, in absolute defiance of the unbroken and unvarying testimony of the Catholic Church to a directly contrary effect, to be received as an undoubted truth.

(2.) It is amusing to hear Dr. Priestley with much gravity assuring us : that *The doctrines came in, from some foreign source, and after the age of the Apostles ;* WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR NOT NOTICING THE DOCTRINES AT ALL.

With cheaply gratuitous assertions of this kind, his Works abound.

The Apostles, forsooth, notice not the doctrines at all ! And, of this *perfectly undoubted fact*, which of course the very hardest Trinitarian cannot venture to gainsay, the historian gives the *rationale*, by stating : that *The doctrines came in, from some*

*foreign source, and after the age of the Apostles!*

THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THEIR NOT NOTICING THE DOCTRINES AT ALL!

Thus, with matchless felicity, is the phenomenon of *one* non-existing fact accounted for by the phenomenon of *another* non-existing fact.

## CHAPTER VII.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT THE NEW TESTAMENT FURNISHES NO INSTANCE OF THE DIVINE ADORATION OF CHRIST.

---

As Dr. Priestley contends, that the majority of Christians, even in the days of Athanasius and Origen and Tertullian, still maintained, in unbroken succession, the primitive apostolic faith of humanitarian Antitrinitarianism ; and as he pronounces, that the doctrine of Christ's divinity was introduced into the Church, either by Justin Martyr, or by some yet earlier unrecorded speculatist : so, with necessary consistency, he declares, that the primitive believers, quite up to the age of the Apostles, inasmuch as they never supposed Christ to be God, thence never made him an object of divine adoration <sup>1</sup>.

Respecting the general historical fact, that *The primitive Christians, from the very apostolic age it-*

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iii. Works, vol. vi. p. 30, 31. See above, book i. chap. 4. note in init.

*self, worshipped the Saviour with divine adoration, I have already been at issue with Dr. Priestley* <sup>1</sup>.

There is a part of the question, however, which I would now somewhat more minutely examine : and that part is, *The invocation of Christ supposed by Trinitarians to be recorded in the New Testament as the approved practice of the first believers.*

Of this invocation or adoration I have adduced various instances. Now, should the propriety of those instances be admitted by the theologians of the Antitrinitarian School, the dispute is obviously at an end : for, as Dr. Priestley well argues, *if, with the early believers mentioned in Scripture, Christ were an object of prayer ; Christ must also, in their estimation, have been very God* <sup>2</sup>.

But Antitrinitarians deny the proper divinity of Christ.

Hence, for the purpose of rebutting the supposed fact, that *Divine adoration is recorded in the New Testament to have been rightly paid to Christ*, anti-trinitarian writers, by whatever mechanism, are plainly compelled to set aside the various instances of such adoration which are adduced by their opponents : and hence, in the regular course of my discussion, I am now brought to consider the validity of the objections which they have started against the adduced instances.

<sup>1</sup> See above, book i. chap. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iii. Works, vol. vi. p. 30, 31.



From the Council of Nice in the year 325 up to the death of St. John in the year 100, I have traced retrogressively, step by step, *the divine adoration of Christ by the entire Church Catholic*<sup>1</sup>. Such being the case, we are prepared to expect some record of *the same divine adoration* in the New Testament: and, accordingly, at least in the judgment of Trinitarians, *there* we actually find it<sup>2</sup>.

Antitrinitarians, however, *deny* the occurrence of this record in the Greek Scriptures: and, to make good their denial, they attempt to put upon the adduced instances such a construction, as may bring out a totally different result<sup>3</sup>.

Now, since they themselves contend that their labour has been successful, a Trinitarian has certainly, on their own principles, a right to demand from them some explanation of the singular fact which inevitably springs up out of their alleged successful labour: the fact, namely, that *The adoration of Christ should have universally prevailed in the Church downward from the time of St. John*, and yet that *There should be no traces of such adoration in the New Testament*.

<sup>1</sup> See above, book i. chap. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See above, book i. chap. 4. § xvii.

<sup>3</sup> I do not, however, find: that they have attempted to set aside the case brought from 1 Thessal. iii. 11, 12. See above, book i. chap. 4. § xvii. 2. (2.) It clearly cannot be disposed of on the favourite principle of VISIBILITY, respecting which we shall hear more as we proceed in the discussion.

This demand may the more justly be made, because the very circumstance of *the actual universal prevalence of the adoration in question, from the death of St. John in the year 100 down to the first Council of Nice in the year 325*, involves, even in itself, the *presumption*; that the trinitarian exposition of the inspired phraseology is right, and that the antitrinitarian exposition of it is wrong: inasmuch as the one produces a perfectly harmonious concinnity of the circumstance and the phraseology, while the other brings out a somewhat unaccountable inconcinnity. But, although the obvious *presumption* be thus in favour of the trinitarian expositor, we doubtless ought in equity to hear the objections which have been started by his antagonists. Let us, then, now proceed to give these objections a due hearing and a fair consideration.

I. It has been remarked: that, even on the most cursory inspection of the New Testament, THE UNIVERSAL ADORATION OF CHRIST, ON THE PART OF THE PRIMITIVE APOSTOLICAL CHURCH, immediately presents itself to our attention.

This circumstance follows from a phraseological peculiarity, otherwise altogether unaccountable.

Unless the fact of THE UNIVERSAL ADORATION OF CHRIST had been notorious to the very last degree: the ordinary and familiar description of the primitive believers could never have been, ALL THAT IN

EVERY PLACE CALL UPON THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD <sup>1</sup>.

The phrase sets forth *the invocation of Christ*. And nothing, save the actual occurrence of the apostolically authorised invocation of Christ, could have given rise to the phrase itself.

If, then, the primitive believers were familiarly known, as *Those that called upon the name of Jesus Christ*: they must, notoriously, under the express sanction of the Apostles, have practised *the religious invocation of their Saviour*.

And, if, as thus sanctioned, they practised *the religious invocation of their Saviour*: they must inevitably, Dr. Priestley himself being judge, have esteemed him VERY GOD; for, otherwise, it will be impossible to vindicate, either the teaching of the Apostles, or the practice of the apostolically taught Church, from the charge of gross and open idolatry.

A conclusion like this, if drawn from well established premises, cannot but be fatal to the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism. To avoid it, therefore, a case must be made out: which shall acquit the believers of the apostolic age from the charge of invoking the name of Jesus Christ.

For such purpose, recourse is had to a different translation of those various passages in the New Testament: which, in the judgment of the Catho-

<sup>1</sup> See above, book i. chap. 4. § xvii. 4.



lic Church, most explicitly set forth and sanction *the religious adoration of the Saviour.*

Instead of understanding the sacred writers to describe the primitive believers, as *calling upon*, or as *religiously invoking, the name of Christ*: we are required to understand them, as merely saying; that *the primitive believers called themselves, or were called, by the name of Christ.*

So that, according to the new version, such passages set not forth any *religious invocation of Christ*; a practice, which, it is contended, was altogether unknown to the early Church: but they simply record the naked historical fact; that *The early disciples, both denominated themselves, and were also by others denominated, Christians.*

This proposed translation, unless I greatly err, we stand bound most decidedly to reject.

As it is alike irreconcilable, both *with chronology*, and *with the well ascertained apostolic use of the phrase*, and *with the interpretation of the early ecclesiastical writers*: so, even in itself, *it is altogether inadmissible.*

1. The two earliest occurrences of the litigated phrase are in the continuation of the history of St. Paul's conversion.

When Christ commanded Ananias to put his hand on the eyes of Paul, that he might recover his sight: the answer, according to the old version, was, *Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem:*



*and here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind ALL THAT CALL ON THY NAME; or, as the text appears, in what has been styled by its authors The New Testament in an Improved Version, to bind ALL WHO ARE CALLED BY THY NAME*<sup>1</sup>.

In like manner, when the Damascenes heard with amazement Paul strenuously preaching *that* Christ, whose Gospel he had before so bitterly opposed: they asked, according to the old version, *Is not this he, that destroyed THEM WHICH CALLED ON THIS NAME in Jerusalem; or, as the text appears in the new version, Is not this he, who destroyed THOSE WHO CALL THEMSELVES AFTER THIS NAME in Jerusalem*<sup>2</sup>?

Now it is obvious: that, in the new translation of the litigated phrase, as it appears in the two preceding passages, an important historical FACT is, of very necessity, involved.

TO BE CALLED AFTER THE NAME OF CHRIST, and TO BE CALLED CHRISTIANS, are two kindred phrases of exactly the same import.

Hence, if Ananias and the Damascenes familiarly mentioned the believers of Damascus and Jerusalem, as *persons who were then called after the name of Christ*: it will evidently follow; that the believers of Damascus and Jerusalem, not only *in* the day of Paul's conversion, but also for a considerable time *previous* to that event, were com-

<sup>1</sup> Acts ix. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Acts ix. 21.

monly known, both among friends and among enemies, by the appellation or title of CHRISTIANS.

Such, plainly, is the naked historical FACT, involved, of very necessity, in the new translation of the phrase now before us.

And this FACT, thus involved in the new translation, draws after it, likewise of very necessity, a direct and open contradiction.

According to the Editor of the Improved Version, speaking through the medium of the novel rendering which he proposes to our acceptance, believers were called CHRISTIANS, both at Jerusalem and at Damascus, *anterior* to the conversion of St. Paul.

But, by the sacred historian, we are assured: that the disciples were called CHRISTIANS *first* at Antioch<sup>1</sup>. And we find: that the Church of Antioch was founded, *subsequent* to the martyrdom of Stephen, and *in consequence* of that persecution wherein Paul took so active a part<sup>2</sup>.

Hence, if I mistake not, the improved translation of the phrase, as it occurs in the two passages now under consideration, is quite irreconcilable *with chronology*.

For the sacred historian declares: that the disciples were called CHRISTIANS *first* at Antioch.

But the Editor, through the medium of his not very felicitous improvement, makes the same

<sup>1</sup> Acts xi. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xi. 19.

sacred historian flatly contradict himself, by assuring us : that the disciples had been commonly and familiarly called *after the name of Christ*, or, in other words, had been commonly and familiarly called CHRISTIANS, both at Damascus and at Jerusalem, some considerable time *before* the Church of Antioch was even founded.

2. The new rendering, however, not only impugns *chronology*: it is likewise irreconcilable *with the well ascertained apostolic use of the litigated phrase*.

(1.) I need scarcely to remark : that the peculiar idiomatical Greek of the New Testament is the same modification of the language, as that employed by the Seventy Translators of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Now the precise litigated phrase again and again occurs in the Greek Version of the Old Testament : and, there, it INVARIABLY signifies, not *the assumption of a distinctive name*, but *an act of solemn invocation or religious worship*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> That the force of the present argument may be the more perceptibly felt, I shall exhibit two classes of passages in which the phrase occurs : the one taken from the Greek of the Seventy ; the other, from the kindred Greek of the New Testament.

I. The following passages occur in the Greek of the Seventy.

1. Οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Gen. iv. 26.

2. Καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο ἐκεῖ Ἀβραμ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου. Gen. xiii. 4.

3. Καὶ

If, therefore, we adopt the alleged improvement recommended to us by the Editor: we shall, so

3. Καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο ἐκεῖ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου. Gen. xxi. 33.

4. Καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου. Gen. xxvi. 25.

5. Καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλείας, αἱ τὸ ὄνομά σου οὐκ ἐπεκαλέσαντο. Psalm. lxxix. 6.

6. Καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐπεκαλεσάμην. Psalm. cxvi. 4.

7. Τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάντας τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου. Zephan. iii. 9.

II. On the other hand, the following passages occur in the kindred Greek of the New Testament.

1. Δῆσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου. Act. ix. 14.

2. Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πορθήσας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο; Act. ix. 21.

3. Σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ. 1 Corinth. i. 2.

III. In all these passages, to which others might easily have been added, the self-same phrase, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα, will be found to occur.

Now, in EVERY passage of the first class, the phrase indisputably signifies *to call upon the name* in the sense of religious adoration.

Yet, in EVERY passage of the second class, the Editor of the Improved Version renders it in the totally different sense of *being called by the name*.

Whence, we may well ask, arises this uniform and systematic deviation from the sense, in which the phrase is INVARIABLY used by the Greek translators of the Old Testament?

The answer is obvious. Had the phrase, as it occurs in the New Testament, been translated in the sense wherein it is INVARIABLY used by the Greek interpreters of the Old Testament, the Editor would have been constrained to acknowledge, that the primitive apostolic Church is, without censure, recorded in Scripture itself, as being accustomed *to call upon the name of*



far as *sense* is concerned, set the kindred idiomatical Greek of the New Testament in direct contradiction to the kindred idiomatical Greek of the Old Testament.

That is to say, if we receive the projected new version : we shall make a single identical phrase, which occurs very frequently in the kindred Greek of each of the two sacred volumes, to bear uniformly *one* sense in the *one* volume and *another* sense in the *other* volume.

Such is the inevitable consequence of adopting the improved translation.

Now, since the Scriptures are intended for universal instruction, we may well be allowed to

*Christ.* But such a version would plainly have involved the doctrine of our Lord's divinity : and this was not to be tolerated. In defiance, therefore, of the *constant* and *invariable* usage of the Seventy, a new version is excogitated, not on any fixed principles of grammar, but for the evidently *sole* purpose of serving the turn of modern Antitrinitarianism.

The original hebrew phrase, קרא בשם, is, by the greek translators, sometimes rendered ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι, and sometimes ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, as well as ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. But, as, in each case alike, the original hebrew is still the same : so, *invariably*, their version of the phrase can only be understood in the sense of *religious invocation*, whether addressed to the true God or to a false god, whether put up to Jehovah or to Baal. See Gen. xii. 8, and particularly 1 Kings xviii. 24, 25, 26. That their rendering of the phrase could ever be deemed capable of bearing the totally different sense of *nominal compellation*, does not seem once to have occurred to them.

doubt : whether the inspired writers of the New Testament, in the common conventional honesty of perspicuous composition, either would or could have used an *already* familiar greek phrase in a sense *totally different* from what it had ever *previously* borne in the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament : a phrase, too, of no light or trifling import, so that it mattered not very essentially *how* it might be interpreted ; but a phrase, which, if understood as it had ALWAYS been *previously* understood in the kindred Greek of the Seventy, involved a point of no less importance than *the religious invocation of the name of Christ*.

If, by the inspired writers of the New Testament, this invocation of Christ had been deemed idolatrous ; and so it *must* have been deemed by them, had their sentiments corresponded with the sentiments of the modern Antitrinitarian School : in *that* case, even putting their inspiration out of the question, it is impossible for us to believe : that, simply as honest clear-headed men who wished to make themselves distinctly understood, they would, uniformly and (as it were) industriously, have used a phrase, which, in the Greek Version of the Old Testament, is INVARIABLY employed to express *the religious adoration of Jehovah* ; without giving us the slightest hint or intimation, that, throughout *their* productions, they purposed to use the *same* phrase, in a sense, *entirely new* and *perfectly different* and *hitherto altogether unheard of and unknown*.

(2.) But this is not the only difficulty, which attends upon the improved translation recommended by the Editor.

As the Greek Interpreters of the Old Testament never use the litigated phrase except in the sense of *religious invocation*: so, when they wish to express the sense, which this same litigated phrase is, by the Editor, made to bear in the New Testament; they use quite a different phrase. And this quite different phrase of theirs, through which they express the sense of *one thing being called after the name of another*: is actually, by the writers of the New Testament also, employed in the identical sense wherein *they* employ it <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I shall here again exhibit two classes of passages, in which this other phrase occurs: the one, taken from the Greek of the Seventy; the other, taken from the Greek of the New Testament.

I. The following passages occur in the Greek of the Seventy.

1. Τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκεῖθεν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἣν ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου. 2 Sam. vi. 2.

2. Ἴνα μὴ καταλάβωμαι ἐγὼ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ κληθῆ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτήν. 2 Sam. xii. 28.

3. Καὶ ἐὰν ἐντραπῆ ὁ λαός μου, ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. 2 Chron. vii. 14.

4. Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. Amos ix. 12.

II. On the other hand, the following passages occur in the kindred Greek of the New Testament.

1. Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. Act. xv. 17.

(3.) Nor yet is even this the whole which may be said, by way of shewing: that the new version is quite irreconcilable with the well ascertained apostolic use of the litigated phrase.

According to the necessary translation of the original Hebrew, in the book of the prophet Joel we read: *Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be delivered*<sup>1</sup>.

Now this precise passage in the book of Joel St.

2. Οὐκ αὐτοὶ βλασφημοῦσι τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς; Jacob. ii. 7.

III. In all these passages, the same phrase, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ, will be found to occur: and, as, throughout the translation of the Seventy, the other phrase, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα, INVARIABLY (with the consent, I presume, of the Editor himself) describes *invocation*; so this phrase, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ, whether we encounter it in the Greek of the Seventy or in the Greek of the New Testament (still, I presume, with the consent of the Editor), INVARIABLY describes *the imposition of a name*.

Such, then, being the constant usage and fixed import of the two distinct phrases, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα and ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ, we may be sure; that, if St. Paul, in 1 Corinth. i. 2. (for instance), had wished to express the idea attributed to him by the Editor, he would not have written, σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: but, adopting the phraseology of St. James and St. Luke and the Seventy, he would have written, σὺν πᾶσιν ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικαλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The same remark applies equally to every other place of the New Testament, where the phrase, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα, occurs.

<sup>1</sup> Joel ii. 32.



Paul quotes, and applies to Christ : *Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved* <sup>1</sup>.

From the circumstance of the word *delivered* being employed by our translators in their version of Joel, while in their version of the Epistle to the Romans they accidentally use the different word *saved*, a mere english reader might perhaps hastily fancy : that we have two *distinct* passages ; and that the christian apostle is *not* citing the hebrew prophet.

But, in the Greek of St. Paul and in the Greek of the Seventy, one and the same word will be found to occur : and the whole citation, as we read it in the Greek of St. Paul, corresponds *verbatim* with the greek translation of Joel <sup>2</sup>.

Hence it is clear ; that the citation as it is made by St. Paul, and the cited passage as it occurs in Joel, must each be understood *in the same sense* : for, in fact, the citation and the cited passage are *identical*. But the cited passage, as it occurs in Joel, must, by the very necessity of the Hebrew Original, be understood in the sense of

<sup>1</sup> Rom. x. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek of the Seventy runs : Πᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, σωθήσεται. Joel ii. 32.

The evidently *cited* Greek of St. Paul runs : Πᾶς γὰρ, ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, σωθήσεται. Rom. x. 13.

Between the Greek, then, of the Seventy, and the *cited* Greek of St. Paul, the sole difference is this : St. Paul inserts the particle γὰρ, for the purpose of connecting his citation with what he had been previously saying.

*invocation.* Therefore the citation, as it is made by St. Paul from the Greek Version of Joel, must assuredly be understood in the *same* sense also.

Yet, all this notwithstanding, though, from the very necessity of the Hebrew Original, the cited passage in Joel can only be translated; *Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved or delivered*: the Editor of the Improved Version, in absolute defiance of the Hebrew Original, and purely to serve the turn of modern humanitarian theology, has thought fit to translate the citation, as made by St. Paul from the Greek Version of this identical book of Joel; *Whosoever taketh upon himself the name of the Lord, shall be saved.*

The important passage before us incontrovertibly establishes the apostolic use of the litigated phrase: for, just as it is translated in the prophecy of Joel, so likewise must it be translated in the citation made of it by St. Paul.

But it does still more.

In the original Hebrew of Joel, the person, whose name is to be invocated, is JEHOVAH. Now this very passage, thus characterised, is, by St. Paul, cited and applied to CHRIST. Therefore the passage demonstrates: that, in the inspired judgment of St. Paul, CHRIST is JEHOVAH; and, consequently, that, when we invoke Christ, we

invoke no such secondary God as is presented to us by the scheme of Arianism.

Such, then, being the essential character of Christ, the primitive believers are consistently described, as being ALL THAT IN EVERY PLACE CALL UPON THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD.

(4.) And now let any candid person consider the circumstances which have been stated: and his decision may, I think, be easily anticipated.

There is a phrase, which the greek translators of the Old Testament UNIFORMLY employ in the sense of *religious invocation*. Now this *self-same* phrase is repeatedly used also by the greek writers of the New Testament. Whence, naturally, or rather inevitably, we are led to conclude: that *they* likewise employ it in the *same* sense, as their confessedly kindred predecessors.

Yet, if we may credit the Editor of *The Improved Version*, so far is this from being the case: that, while the greek translators of the Old Testament UNIFORMLY employ the phrase in the sense of *religious invocation*; the greek writers of the New Testament UNIFORMLY, though doubtless very unexpectedly, and *that* too without giving the least hint of their departure from the unvarying usage of their kindred predecessors, employ it in the sense of *nominal compellation*.

Again: there is *another* phrase, which the greek translators of the Old Testament never use in any

sense except that of *nominal compellation*. And, in the self-same sense of *nominal compellation*, this *other* phrase is always used by the greek writers of the New Testament.

In the case, then, of the *second* of these two phrases, we have *perfect concord*, between the greek translators of the Old Testament, and the greek writers of the New Testament. But, in the case of the *first* of them, if we adopt the improvement recommended by the Editor, we have *the most complete discord*, between these two classes of allowedly kindred modifiers of the greek language.

Lastly: a passage, which contains the first of the two phrases, is, by St. Paul, cited *verbatim* from the Greek Version of the prophet Joel. Hence it is clear: that, in whatsoever manner the phrase is translated into English, as it occurs in the prophecy of Joel; in that same manner, also, must it be translated into English, as it occurs in the citation made by St. Paul. But the necessary english rendering of the phrase, as it occurs in the cited passage of Joel, is, most undoubtedly: *Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord*. Therefore, the proper english rendering of the phrase, as it occurs in the citation made by St. Paul, is, no less undoubtedly, and by the plainest necessity, the very same also.

Yet, while the Editor, I presume, would acknowledge; that the phrase, as it occurs in the Greek Version of the prophecy of Joel, can only



be rendered into English, *Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord*: he recommends; that the *self-same* phrase, as it occurs in the *self-same* passage of Joel, should, nevertheless, when it is cited by St. Paul, be rendered into English, *Whosoever taketh upon himself the name of the Lord*.

3. Evil as may now be the plight of the Editor of *The Improved Version*, his infelicity is not even yet completed.

The new translation of the litigated phrase not only sets both chronology and apostolic usage at defiance: but it likewise runs counter to *the received interpretation of the primitive Church*, which, from its nearness to the times of the original promulgation of the Gospel, may well be thought to have best understood the mind of the inspired writers of the New Testament.

By Tertullian and by Novatian, by Cyprian and by Jerome, the three former of whom flourished anterior to the Council of Nice, and the last of whom not many years after it, the phrase is, either palpably alluded to, or actually translated. And, in each case alike, it is invariably understood, not after the tenor of the Editor's misnamed improvement, but as it is most justly rendered in our common English Version.

(1.) Such is the purport of the manifest allusion, which we find in the Works of Tertullian.

*At this day, nations, which once knew him not, INVOCATE CHRIST: and, at this day, tribes flee for*

*refuge to Christ, of whom formerly they were ignorant*<sup>1</sup>.

(2.) Such also is the purport of the no less evident allusion, which occurs in the Tractate of Novatian.

*If Christ be only a man, HOW IS HE PRESENT EVERY WHERE INVOCATED : since omnipresence is the nature, not of man, but of God ? If Christ be only a man, WHY IS A MAN INVOCATED IN OUR PRAYERS as a mediator : since THE INVOCATION OF A MAN must be judged inefficacious to afford salvation*<sup>2</sup> ?

(3.) Exactly the same sense is affixed to the phrase, in its direct translation by Cyprian.

*The brethren, who are in bonds, salute you : as also the Presbyters and the whole Church ; which itself, likewise, with the greatest solicitude, watches for ALL WHO INVOCATE THE NAME OF THE LORD*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Christum enim hodie invocant nationes, quæ eum non sciebant ; et populi hodie ad Christum confugiunt, quem retro ignorabant. Tertull. adv. Jud. de secund. advent. Christ. Oper. p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocatus : cum hæc hominis natura non sit, sed Dei, ut adesse omni loco possit ? Si homo tantummodo Christus, cur homo in orationibus mediator invocatur : cum invocatio hominis ad præstandam salutem inefficax judicetur ? Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 610.

<sup>3</sup> Salutant vos fratres qui sunt in vinculis, et Presbyteri, et tota Ecclesia : quæ et ipsa, cum summa sollicitudine, excubat pro omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. Cyprian. Epist. viii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 18.

(4.) With its translation by Cyprian, perfectly corresponds its translation by Jerome in the old Latin Version which is still preserved among his Works.

*Paul, called an Apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, and Sosthenes our brother, to the Church of God which is at Corinth, to the sanctified in Christ Jesus, called Saints, WITH ALL WHO INVOCATE THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IN EVERY PLACE, their Lord and our Lord, grace be unto you and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ*<sup>1</sup>.

4. Hitherto I have argued only the *particular* impossibility of the Editor's improved translation of the phrase, in those several passages of the New

<sup>1</sup> Paulus vocatus Apostolus Jesu Christi per voluntatem Dei, et Sosthenes frater, Ecclesiæ Dei quæ est Corinthi, sanctificatis in Christo Jesu, vocatis Sanctis, cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi in omni loco, ipsorum et nostro : gratia vobis et pax a Deo patre nostro et Domino Jesu Christo. 1 Cor. i. 1, 2, 3. Hieron. Oper. vol. viii. p. 192. Colon. 1616.

Jerome's own Commentary on the passage distinctly shews : that, in his judgment, the ancient hebrew invocation of Jehovah by the Levitical Priesthood is identical with the evangelical invocation of the Lord Jesus Christ.

*Cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi.] Propriè sacerdotum est invocare Dominum : quibus dicitur : Sic benedicite filiis Israel invocantes nomen meum super illos. Et Psalmista dicit : Et Samuel inter eos qui invocant nomen ejus. Hieron. Comment. in loc.*



Testament which have passed in review before us : and, for all theological purposes, this alone is quite sufficient.

But I may now safely advance yet further.

Let the Editor or any of his friends produce, if they be able, a single place, either in the New Testament or in the Greek of the Old Testament, where the sense, imperiously and without any ambiguity, *compels* the adoption of his proposed version of the present Hellenism.

If this *can* be done : then, at least, the *abstract* possibility of such a translation will be established.

But, since, as I will venture to assert, it *cannot* be done : the Editor's translation is, even *generally* and *abstractedly*, a palpable impossibility.

II. The recorded action of Stephen, when in the agonies of death, is closely connected with the important phrase which has been last considered : and, by Trinitarians, it is viewed, as demonstratively establishing the FACT of *The apostolically sanctioned adoration of Christ* <sup>1</sup>.

Unless the whole Catholic Church, from age to age, has been a false interpreter, the primitive believers, as we have seen, are, in the phraseology of the New Testament, denominated ALL THOSE WHO INVOCATE THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS.

Accordingly, in exact correspondence with such phraseology, we read, as follows, respecting the protomartyr.

<sup>1</sup> See above, book i. chap. 4. § XVII. 3.



*They stoned Stephen, INVOCATING and saying: LORD JESUS, RECEIVE MY SPIRIT. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice: LORD, LAY NOT THIS SIN TO THEIR CHARGE* <sup>1</sup>.

That the protomartyr, *being full of the Holy Ghost* <sup>2</sup>, and therefore being divinely directed in his conduct, invoked Jesus with his dying breath, and that on his knees he besought him to receive his own soul and to pardon his murderers: can neither be denied nor dissembled. That this invocation was a prayer: is indisputable. And, that, without idolatry, prayer cannot be addressed to any one save the Lord God Almighty: is, if I mistake not, a point equally incapable of being fairly and satisfactorily disputed.

What, then, is to be done with the remarkable circumstance now before us? How are we to dispose of the present narrative?

If Stephen *legitimately* invoked Christ: then, by the admission of Dr. Priestley himself, Christ must clearly be God <sup>3</sup>.

If Stephen *unwarrantably* invoked Christ: then the first of the noble army of martyrs died in the

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον, ἐπικαλούμενον καὶ λέγοντα· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. Θεὸς δὲ τὰ γόνατα, ἔκραξε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· Κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην. Act. vii. 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Ὑπάρχων δὲ πλήρης Πνεύματος Ἁγίου. Act. vii. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iii. Works, vol. vi. p. 30, 31.

very act of gross idolatry; and yet, as if purposely to delude the Catholic Church into a perpetual repetition of the same wickedness, his deed is recorded by an inspired writer, not only without the slightest mark of reprobation, but even with an assurance that he was THEN *full of the Holy Ghost*.

Such being the case, are we, like the collective primitive believers, both before and immediately after the death of St. John (as we learn their stated liturgical practice from the depositions made before Pliny), to invoke Christ as God?

Or are we, rejecting the divinity of the Saviour, to pronounce Stephen an unreprieved and (paradoxical as the expression may sound) an inspired idolater?

How, on *his* principles, does the modern Antitrinitarian solve this appalling difficulty?

1. Though Stephen himself is said to have been *full of the Holy Ghost*, Dr. Priestley, so far as I can understand his not very luminous solution, freely admits: that the protomartyr's conduct was not perfectly correct.

But, while, according to this admission, he deems the act of Stephen a solitary instance of primitive idolatry: he thinks, that we ought not uncharitably to be *too* severe in our judgment upon the melancholy case of the erring culprit; since none of us poor frail creatures can pretend to say, *what* he might possibly do in a similar situation and in a similar hurry of spirits, even though the Holy

Ghost himself should condescend to be our plenary director.

*To conclude, he remarks, as some have done, from the single case of Stephen; that All Christians are authorised to pray to Christ: is like concluding; that All matter has a tendency to go upward, because a needle will do so when a magnet is held over it. When they shall be in the same circumstances with Stephen, having their minds strongly impressed with a vision of Christ sitting at the right hand of God: they may then, PERHAPS, be authorised to address themselves to him, as he did. But the whole tenor of the Scriptures proves: that, otherwise, we have no authority for any such practice*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Letters to Bp. Horsley, part. ii. lett. 14. Works, vol. xviii. p. 245. Hist. of Early Opin. Introd. sect. iii. Works, vol. vi. p. 33.

Dr. Priestley's repetition of this solution, in two several places, seems to imply, on his own part, the fulness of satisfaction. But, should any incredulous examiner still remain unconvinced, the fertile historian recommends to his attention yet another solution, which is ingeniously constructed upon an entirely different principle, which has the advantage of being a *familiar illustration* of evangelical verity, and which certainly brings off the protomartyr far more handsomely than the last even though twice-repeated.

Stephen, he suggests, after all the labour which has been bestowed on the subject, never *did* INVOCATE Christ, in the ordinary precatory sense of INVOCATION. He simply APPEALED to him, from the unjust judgment of the Sanhedrim: just as Paul APPEALED to Cæsar, from the gross injustice of Festus. Famil. Illust. p. 37.



Dr. Priestley's assertion, relative to *the whole tenor of the Scriptures*, is a mere assertion. It

I. It must be confessed, that, in both cases, the case of Stephen and the case of Paul, the *same* verb ἐπικαλέομαι is used by the sacred historian. Yet it may be doubted, whether the two cases are exactly parallel.

1. Stephen's supplication, from his bended knees, *for salvation to his own soul and for pardon to his enemies*, does not seem to bear any very close resemblance to *the subject-matter of a legal process of appeal from a lower court to a higher court*.

2. If Stephen, as Dr. Priestley would familiarly illustrate the language of St. Luke, did nothing more than APPEAL to Christ for a reversal of the unjust sentence of the Sanhedrim: his APPEAL to this effect, that is to say, his APPEAL to demand justice and a redress of injuries, was oddly couched in the two following apparently quite irrelevant petitions; *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*, and *Lord lay not this sin to their charge*.

II. On such fantastic glosses as the present *familiar illustration*, I may remark: that, so far as my own observation extends, antitrinitarian writers, instead of fairly sitting down to ascertain the sense of a text, irrespectively of any particular theological system, by those various aids (scriptural and extra-scriptural) which we possess in sufficiently rich abundance, merely labour, through the medium of any strained or imagined grammatical or verbal possibility, to make it speak a language which shall not contradict their own predetermined hypothesis.

The *true* construction of the place is not so much inquired after, as its *possible* verbal construction: and the object of the misapplied criticism is, not the honest development of the inspired writer's *real* meaning, but the security of a system anteriorly and independently adopted.

If we seek a pregnant specimen of such unhallowed painfulness, we need not travel beyond Dr. Priestley's *familiar illustration* of the conduct ascribed to Stephen by St. Luke.



may, therefore, be fairly and fitly met by a *simple* negation.

Whether the conclusion, drawn by the Catholic Church from the act of Stephen, does, or does not, resemble the imagined conclusion from the operation of the magnet; and, in truth, it is a difficult matter to discover the resemblance between the two cases: *this*, at least, is abundantly evident, that Dr. Priestley was in no ordinary perplexity, when employed in reconciling the conduct of the protomartyr with the daring speculations of modern Antitrinitarianism.

2. To a man of plain understanding, the solution, proposed by Mr. Lindsey and the Editor of *The New Testament in an Improved Version*, is equally perplexing and more assumptive.

Yet, as we shall successively find in the course of our examination, it is marvellous to think, of what wide application, and of what general utility, is the *principle* upon which that solution is constructed.

(1.) Mr. Lindsey fairly and manfully owns: that, what Stephen spake to Christ, was neither more nor less than *an absolute prayer*.

The difficulty, however, of *an acknowledged prayer* being offered up to *a creature*, he solves on the principle of VISIBILITY, as specially opposed to INVISIBILITY.

*There is no doubt*, says he, *but that Stephen made this request*, ADDRESSED THIS PRAYER, *to the Lord*

*Jesus. But this can be no precedent for directing prayer to him* UNSEEN <sup>1</sup>.

According, then, to the principle espoused by Mr. Lindsey, it is perfectly lawful to adore a creature when VISIBLE, but perfectly unlawful to adore the same creature when INVISIBLE.

For, if we may credit this commentator, the sin of idolatry consists: not in the act of *Praying to a creature for blessings which GOD ONLY can bestow*, as when Stephen prayed the Lord Jesus to receive his spirit and not to lay the sin of his murderers penally to their charge; but solely in the apparently unimportant circumstance of *The creature's INVISIBILITY*.

(2.) From Mr. Lindsey, the Editor of *The New Version* has been content to borrow the present solution: but, as being the latest writer of the two, he has not suffered it to pass through his hands, without enriching it by a manifest improvement of his own.

*This ADDRESS of Stephen to Jesus, WHEN HE ACTUALLY SAW HIM, says the Editor, does not authorise us to offer PRAYERS to him, NOW THAT HE IS INVISIBLE* <sup>2</sup>.

What Mr. Lindsey owned to have been A PRAYER, the more wary Editor, we see, dexterously calls AN ADDRESS: and this ADDRESS to a VISIBLE creature

<sup>1</sup> Lindsey's Apol. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Improv. Vers. in loc.

he ingeniously contradistinguishes from PRAYERS offered up to an INVISIBLE creature.

The ADDRESS of the undoubted primitive Humanitarian Stephen, to the SEEN Jesus, does not authorise the PRAYER of a modern Trinitarian to the now UNSEEN Jesus. Stephen ADDRESSED Christ simply in the way of ordinary familiar conversation ; just as Paul might address Peter, or Peter address Paul : but Trinitarians PRAY to Christ ; just as Antitrinitarians pray to the Deity himself.

This may justly be deemed an improvement upon Mr. Lindsey's solution. But still, I fear, the language of Stephen, by Dr. Priestley consistently pronounced to be not quite correct, let the Editor call it by what name he most affects : both is expressly described, by the sacred historian, as AN INVOCATION ; and, in point of fact, is, to all intents and purposes, A DIRECT PRAYER for salvation to himself and for pardon to his enemies, matters which (it is presumed) GOD ONLY can accord.

Now such an ADDRESS or such a PRAYER, according as we adopt the nomenclature of the Editor or of Mr. Lindsey ; that is to say, *An ADDRESS or a PRAYER, for salvation to a man himself, and for pardon to his enemies* : may, in the judgment of the Editor, be safely offered to Christ, provided only he be VISIBLE. But this is no warrant for those : who would offer an exactly similar ADDRESS or PRAYER to Christ, now that he is INVISIBLE.

To the mere man Christ, provided only we can

SEE him with our bodily eyes, we may blamelessly make an ADDRESS OR a PRAYER, for salvation to ourselves, and for pardon to our enemies: nor shall we, by this act, be in the least danger of incurring the charge of idolatry. But, the moment WE CEASE TO BEHOLD HIM with our bodily eyes, the case is quite changed: if we *then* PRAY to him or ADDRESS him, for salvation and pardon; we are, *ipso facto*, convicted idolaters: the very action, which *one* instant was perfectly lawful, suddenly becomes the *next* instant perfectly unlawful<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This principle of VISIBILITY, when applied to the invocation of the Host of Heaven, will produce results alike edifying and unexpected.

I. If a man calls upon the Sun in the night-time, when the Sun is INVISIBLE to him: his invocation, *then*, is rank idolatry.

But let the same man call upon the same Sun in the day-time, when the Sun is VISIBLE to him as engaged in the beneficent occupation of illuminating and fructifying our lower world: and his invocation is, *then*, quite free from idolatry; the invoker is undoubtedly clear in conscience.

II. Again, conversely: if a man calls upon the Moon and the Stars in the day-time, or when they are INVISIBLE to him: his invocation, *then*, is rank idolatry.

But, if he only calls upon the same Moon and the same Stars in the night-time, when their brilliancy in the dark vault of heaven is VISIBLE: his invocation, *then*, ceases to be idolatry; and he stands perfectly justified before both God and man.

III. As the Editor remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, the invocation of Ahab's Baalites from morning even until noon, WHEN THEY ACTUALLY SAW THE SUN, does not authorise us to offer prayers to him or to call upon his name, WHEN HE IS INVISIBLE.



Verily, Antitrinitarianism has its hard sayings, no less than Trinitarianism.

(3.) The solution, recommended by Mr. Lindsey and the Editor, rests, we see, on the principle of VISIBILITY.

Such a solution, even if supported by indisputable matter of fact, still, I think, would be the very reverse of satisfactory. But what shall we say to it, when the alleged fact, upon which it professedly rests, *itself* requires substantiation?

WHERE did these two commentators learn: that, at the moment of Stephen's invocation, Christ actually *was* VISIBLE to Stephen?

Certainly, I will not venture to *deny* the fact of our Lord's VISIBILITY, when Stephen invocated him: for, in truth, having no means of acquiring information, I must even be content to acknowledge my entire ignorance, whether Stephen, at that time, *did*, or *did not*, see the Lord. But then, on the other hand, without adducing some DISTINCT PROOF, a commentator can have no right to *assert* it: and still less, therefore, can he have any right professedly to *frame* upon it an attempted solution of a palpable difficulty.

NOW WHERE have we any DISTINCT PROOF, that Stephen actually BEHELD Christ, when invocating him in the agonies of martyrdom?

The scriptural narrative is wholly silent on the subject: and, unless we can *thence* learn the

alleged fact, I know not from what *other* quarter it can be legitimately ascertained.

While speaking, indeed, *in the council-room* before the Sanhedrim, Stephen declares: that he sees, the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God. But, *subsequent* to this declaration, he is dragged, not only *out of the council-room*, but even *out of the city itself*: and, so far as I know, we are *no where* told, that he *continued* to behold the heavenly vision.

He *might*, or he *might not*. The question is left, by Scripture, in a state of *total uncertainty*. Nothing, save merely *the change of place*, is *positively* known. He beheld the vision, *in the council-chamber*: he was stoned, *out of the city*.

Yet, upon an alleged fact wholly *incapable* of substantiation, have Mr. Lindsey and the Editor constructed the solution, which is to exempt Stephen, though praying to a creature, from the charge of creature-worship.

III. But, whatever may have been the conduct of the protomartyr, though he was *full of the Holy Ghost*, he was certainly *not* an Apostle.

Now Mr. Lindsey boldly asserts: that, *By the Apostles, at least, prayer was NEVER addressed to Christ*<sup>1</sup>.

1. In making this assertion, Mr. Lindsey differs from Dr. Priestley: and, as Dr. Priestley well

<sup>1</sup> Apol. p. 131, 132. Sequel to Apol. p. 67.

judged, he differs likewise from the plain language of Holy Scripture.

St. Paul, if we may credit St. Paul's *own* assurance, thrice besought THE LORD, that the messenger of Satan might depart from him. But THE LORD, here supplicated by the Apostle for grace and assistance, is indisputably CHRIST. Therefore CHRIST is the person, to whom the Apostle addressed his thrice-repeated supplication<sup>1</sup>.

That such is the true import of the passage, is fairly acknowledged by Dr. Priestley. For he supposes: that CHRIST appeared to St. Paul, in a vision; that the Apostle, then, thrice besought CHRIST to remove the thorn which troubled him; and that, in reply, CHRIST declared his own strength to be made perfect in his servant's weakness<sup>2</sup>.

Here, then, by the confession of Dr. Priestley, is a case directly in point: and the problem, to be solved, is; *How, without damage to the Antitrinitarian Scheme, such a case is to be disposed of.*

In defiance of the context and of Dr. Priestley to boot, Mr. Lindsey would persuade us: that the acknowledged PRAYER of Paul was addressed, not to *Christ*, but to the *Father*; whom he maintains to be, *exclusively*, the true Supreme Divinity.

Dr. Priestley, on the contrary, clearly perceiving, and (much to his credit) candidly owning,

<sup>1</sup> See above, book i. chap. 4. § XVII. 2. (1.)

<sup>2</sup> Notes on the Script. cited in Improv. Vers. in loc.

that CHRIST was the object of Paul's supplication, strives to rid himself of the difficulty, by calling in the aid of that grand mystery of modern Antitrinitarianism, *The legality of Creature-Worship, provided only the worshipped creature be VISIBLE.*

Respecting the indigestible paradox of VISIBILITY AND INVISIBILITY, nothing more, I apprehend, needs to be said. Those, who can receive such strong meat, are certainly no babes in Theology. At present, then, I have simply to inquire into *the alleged fact*, upon which Dr. Priestley's solution professedly reposes.

Paul, says the historian, BEHELD the Lord Jesus, when he thrice besought him to remove the messenger of Satan. Therefore, on the principle of VISIBILITY, his prayer to the creature was justifiable.

WHERE did Dr. Priestley learn: that Paul, on this occasion, *did* BEHOLD the Lord Jesus? WHERE is Dr. Priestley's PROOF: that the Apostle, with his bodily eyes, actually SAW that Lord, whom he confessedly invocated for grace and deliverance?

In St. Paul's *own* account of the transaction, not a single syllable is said in confirmation of Dr. Priestley's perfectly gratuitous theory. He NO WHERE informs us: that Christ was VISIBLY present, when he thrice besought him.

As to the answer which the Apostle received to his prayer, in order to account for such a circumstance, we require not the unsupported hypo-



thesis of A VISIBLE CORPOREAL MANIFESTATION. The reply *may* have been, for any thing that appears to the contrary, conveyed to him, either by an audible voice from heaven, or by that infallible impression upon the mind which is identical with inspiration.

I pretend not to assert, that such actually *was* the case: for, as in the former instance of Stephen, I must be content to plead my utter ignorance. St. Paul is *altogether silent* on the subject. He *may*, or he *may not*, have then SEEN his Master. On *this* point, we absolutely *know nothing*. Dr. Priestley, in his proposed solution, *assumes* the very matter, which it was his business to *prove*. For Dr. Priestley's assertion of *Our Lord's VISIBILITY on that occasion* rests upon no better foundation, than the authority of Dr. Priestley himself.

Hence, as in the preceding case of Stephen, it is obvious: that a solution, which is built entirely upon the mere *conjecture* of a hard-pressed controversialist (even if, abstractedly, the *principle* of the solution were, in itself, satisfactory), can never be legitimately admitted in argument.

The Antitrinitarian, however, is heartily welcome to Dr. Priestley's solution. I am myself quite satisfied with his acknowledgment: that the PRAYER of the holy Apostle was addressed to CHRIST.

2. Though Mr. Lindsey denies; that, by the *Apostles*, PRAYER was ever offered up to CHRIST: yet, somewhat inconsistently, he employs the prin-

inciple of VISIBILITY to account for an acknowledged PRAYER, which is addressed to OUR LORD by yet *another Apostle*.

At the close of the Apocalypse, St. John records himself to have used the following invocation: *Even so, come, Lord Jesus* <sup>1</sup>.

According to Mr. Lindsey, these words are only the Apostle's reply, addressed to the Lord Jesus then VISIBLY present with him. Hence, though clearly A PRAYER for the speedy arrival of the second advent; a matter, which, if I mistake not, rests *exclusively* in the providential disposition of THE GODHEAD: they are, nevertheless, perfectly warranted by the industrious principle of VISIBILITY <sup>2</sup>.

I am here, yet a third time, encountered by mere *gratuitous assertion*: when, to the cogency, if cogency it can be called, of the projected solution, DIRECT PROOF is plainly essential.

Mr. Lindsey assures us: that *The words of St. John are a reply addressed to Christ then VISIBLY present*.

WHERE is his PROOF?

Truly, the whole weight of evidence is *against* his gratuitous assertion: for the whole context of the prayer establishes, not the VISIBILITY, but the INVISIBILITY, of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> See above, book i. chap. 4. § xvii. 1. (1.)

<sup>2</sup> Apol. p. 133.

This will be manifest to any one, who carefully peruses the concluding chapter of the Apocalypse.

The entire conversation, as detailed in that chapter, passes, between St. John on the one hand, and an angel who shews him the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem on the other hand. These two are the SOLE speakers, who are ever brought upon the stage.

With respect to the angel, he first declares himself to be sent by the Lord God of the spirits of the prophets: and, as acting in the capacity of a messenger, and as speaking (after the manner of Scripture) in the name of his principal, he says; *Behold, I come quickly*<sup>1</sup>.

From the circumstance, apparently, of his thus speaking in the first person, St. John mistakes *the sent* for *the sender*: and, thence, as he tells us, he fell down before the feet of the angel to worship him<sup>2</sup>.

The angel, however, immediately checks his misplaced devotion, by telling him: that he is nothing more than his fellow-servant<sup>3</sup>.

He then proceeds to address his last speech to St. John: in which he professes himself to be sent by Jesus; and in which, again delivering his message in the first person, he twice more says, in the name of his principal, *Behold, I come quickly*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xxii. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. xxii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. xxii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. xxii. 10—20.

With this thrice repeated declaration in the name of him who sent him, the final speech of the delegated angel terminates: and, in reply, John addresses to CHRIST, though CHRIST throughout the whole conversation was never VISIBLY present, a direct PRAYER for the speedy arrival of the second advent; *Even so, come, Lord Jesus* <sup>1</sup>.

Hence, Mr. Lindsey's very principle of VISIBILITY, whatever may be its own intrinsic worth, here completely fails him.

An inspired Apostle addresses a specific PRAYER to CHRIST: Christ himself, at that precise time, being not VISIBLE, but INVISIBLE.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xxii. 20. The conclusion of the angel's last speech to St. John, which speech begins Rev. xxii. 10 and ends Rev. xxii. 20, is exactly similar to the style of the old prophets.

*He, which testifieth these things, saith: Surely, I come quickly.*

*Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heaven and the earth.*



## CHAPTER VIII.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGED OBLIGATION OF THE EARLY FATHERS TO THE GENTILE PHILOSOPHERS, IN REGARD TO THE DOCTRINES OF THE TRINITY AND THE LOGOS.

---

THE fable of Dr. Priestley; that *Justin Martyr borrowed the speculation of The Personal Divine Word, through the medium of Philo, from the School of Plato; and thence introduced it, ready concocted, into the Christian System*: this fable has, already, been sufficiently exploded.

Yet, since antitrinitarian writers, one after another, are wont stoutly to allege; that *Certain of the early Fathers, by their too great fondness for the philosophical learning of Gentilism, corrupted Christianity, in respect to the tenets of Christ's godhead and The Trinity, no less than Justin himself who is commonly set down as the ringleader of the innovators*: it may be useful to inquire, what degree of actual truth there is in this perpetually reiterated allegation<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Priestley's *Hist. of Corrupt.* part i. sect. 2. Works, vol. v. p. 30. Letters by another Barrister, p. 105. 281.

The Fathers, chiefly implicated in this serious charge, are, I believe, Justin, Irenèus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria.

Now, as I have myself perused the entire Works of those early authors, all of whom flourished in the course of the second century : I certainly am at a loss to divine, upon what EVIDENCE the charge in question can have been founded.

For the satisfaction of other persons, however, the most equitable process will be : to turn to their own writings, and thence to learn what they themselves really say respecting this matter.

I. On the hypothesis (for, in truth, it is no better than a mere gratuitous hypothesis) ; that *Those ancient Ecclesiastics received their novel speculations from the philosophy of Gentilism* : it is clearly impossible, that they could have spoken of their cherished instructors in the language of contempt. Yet, so far as dry matter of fact is concerned, we actually find such to be the case.

1. The language of Justin, to this effect, we have already heard : but it may not be unprofitable to follow the holy martyr in certain yet additional statements.

*You will adduce, says he to the Greeks, the wise men and the philosophers: for, to these, as to a strong-hold, you are wont to make your escape, whenever, concerning the gods, any one twits you with the opinions of the poets. Wherefore, since it is fitting to begin with the first and the most ancient,*

*commencing with them, I will shew: that the speculation of each philosopher is still more ridiculous, than even the theology of the poets*<sup>1</sup>.

He then proceeds, in regular succession, through the several opinions of Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Pythagoras, Epicurus, Empedocles, PLATO, and Aristotle, for the purpose of convicting them all of manifest and indisputable folly.

With respect to PLATO in particular, nothing can be more contemptuous than Justin's sneer at him.

*Plato, forsooth, is as sure that the Supreme Deity exists in a fiery substance, as if he had come down from above, and had accurately learned and seen all the things that are in heaven*<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, rejecting the vain speculations of jarring sophists, he pronounces it the best wisdom to seek for truth at the primeval fount of ancient hebrew theology.

*Since, continues he to the Greeks, it is impossible to learn from your teachers any thing true*

<sup>1</sup> Τοὺς σοφοὺς πάντως δήπου καὶ φιλοσόφους λέξετε· ἐπὶ τούτους γὰρ, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τεῖχος ὄχυρόν, καταφύγειν εἰώθατε, ἐπειδὴν τις ὑμῖν τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν περὶ θεῶν ἀπαγγέλλῃ δόξας. Οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴπερ ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ πρώτων ἀρξασθαι προσήκει, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος, τὴν ἐκάστου δόξαν ἐκθήσομαι, πολλῶ γελοιωτέραν τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν θεολογίας οὔσαν. Justin. ad Græc. Cohort. Oper. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Πλάτων μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἄνωθεν κατεληλυθῶς, καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἅπαντα ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκῶς καὶ ἐωρακῶς, τὸν ἀνωτάτω Θεὸν ἐν τῇ πυρώδει οὐσίᾳ εἶναι λέγει. Justin. Cohort. Oper. p. 4.

*respecting piety toward God, inasmuch as their very difference of opinion is a plain proof of their ignorance; I deem it an obvious consequence, that we should return to our own forefathers: who are of much higher antiquity than any of your teachers; who have taught us nothing from their own mere phantasy; who among themselves have no discrepancies; and who attempt not mutually to overturn the opinion of each other, but who, without wrangling and disputation, communicate to us that knowledge which they have received from God. For, neither by nature nor by human intellect, is it possible for men to attain the knowledge of such great and divine matters; but only by the gift which descends from above upon holy men, who needed not the arts of eloquence or the faculty of subtle disputation, but who judged it solely necessary to preserve themselves pure for the efficacious energy of the Divine Spirit<sup>1</sup>.*

2. Equally vituperative is the language of Ter-

<sup>1</sup> Οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς περὶ θεοσεβείας παρὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων διδασκάλων μανθάνειν ἐστὶ δυνατόν, ἰκανὴν ὑμῖν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀγνοίας διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεως παρεσχηκότων· ἀκόλουθον ἠγοῦμαι ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους, τοὺς καὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν διδασκάλων πολλῶν προειληφότας, καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν φαντασίας διδάξαντας ἡμᾶς, μηδὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διενεχθέντας ἢ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἀνατρέπειν πειρωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀφιλονείκως καὶ ἀστασιάστως τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ δεξαμένους γινῶσιν, καὶ ταύτην διδάσκοντας ἡμᾶς. Οὔτε γὰρ φύσει, οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐννοίᾳ, οὔτω μεγάλα καὶ θεῖα γινώσκειν ἀνθρώποις δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγίους ἀνδρας τηρικαῦτα κατελθούσῃ δωρεᾷ, οἷς οὐ λόγων ἐδέησε τέχνης



tullian: who yet, *with his learned philosophical contemporaries* (I employ the singular phraseology of a modern antitrinitarian speculatist), paradoxical as it may seem to an ordinary inquirer, has been roundly and confidently pronounced to have been mainly concerned in bringing into the Church the then novel doctrines of the Trinity and Christ's godhead.

*For the authors of our theology, says he, we have the Apostles of the Lord: who not even themselves arbitrarily chose, what they would introduce; but who faithfully delivered to the nations that discipline, which they had received from Christ.—FINALLY, HERESIES THEMSELVES ARE SUBORNED FROM PHILOSOPHY.—Thence spring those fables and endless genealogies and unfruitful questions and discourses creeping like a gangrene: from which the Apostle would rein us back, by charging us, even in so many words, to beware of philosophy.—What, then, is there in common, between Athens and Jerusalem, between the Academy and the Church, between Heretics and Christians? Our institution is from the porch of Solomon: who himself has admonished us to seek the Lord in simplicity of heart. Let those persons see to it, who have brought forward a stoical or a PLATONIC or a dialectic Christianity<sup>1</sup>.*

οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐριστικῶς τι καὶ φιλονείκως εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθαρὸς ἑαυτοῦς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ Πνεύματος παρασχεῖν ἐνεργεία. Justin. Cohort. Oper. p. 6, 7.

<sup>1</sup> Apostolos Domini habemus autores: qui nec ipsi quicquam

*From the prophets and from Christ, we are instructed in regard to God: NOT from the philosophers or from Epicurus*<sup>1</sup>.

*God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, that he might confound the wise.—Through this simplicity of the truth, DIRECTLY CONTRARY to subtiloquence and philosophy, we can savour nothing perverse*<sup>2</sup>.

The person, who thus utterly and avowedly disclaims philosophy, who declares that all heresies spring from it, who censures the heretical introducers of a stoical or a platonick or a dialectic Christianity, who professes to learn the nature of

ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt; sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt.—Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophia subornantur.—Hinc illæ fabulæ et genealogiæ indeterminabiles et quæstiones infructuosæ et sermones serpentes velut cancer: a quibus nos Apostolus refrænans nominatim philosophiam testatur caveri oportere.—Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis, quid Academiæ et Ecclesiæ, quid Hæreticis et Christianis? Nostra institutio de porticu Salomonis est, qui et ipse tradiderat Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quærendum. Viderint, qui stoicum et platonicum et dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt. Tertull. adv. hæc. § 2, 3. Oper. p. 97, 98.

<sup>1</sup> Deum nos, a prophetis et a Christo, non a philosophis nec ab Epicuro, erudimur. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. ii. § 13. Oper. p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Stulta enim mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat sapientes.—Hac simplicitate veritatis, contraria subtililoquentiæ et philosophiæ, nihil perversi possumus sapere. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. v. § 40. Oper. p. 328.

God not from the schools of the philosophers but from Christ and the prophets, who states that even the Apostles did not presume to bring any thing of their own arbitrary selection into the Church but that they faithfully taught the nations as they had themselves learned from Christ: this very person is, by a modern antitrinitarian writer, actually accused of having endeavoured, in conjunction with his learned philosophical contemporaries, to introduce, from the reveries of platonism, into the hitherto strictly unipersonalising and humanitarian Church, the novel doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the God-head<sup>1</sup>.

II. As the philosophy of the Gentiles is thus contemptuously reprobated and rejected; while, in its place and in direct opposition to it, the revealed word of God, communicated through Christ and the Prophets and the Apostles, is declared to be the only source whence the Church derived her theology: so, instead of *themselves* borrowing from that philosophy certain new doctrines hitherto unheard of by Christians, these early ecclesiastics describe it as the fruitful parent of every *heresy*.

1. To this purpose speaks the venerable Irenæus: who yet, by Dr. Priestley, has been accused, in conjunction with Justin and sundry others his contemporaries, of introducing the doctrine of the

<sup>1</sup> Letters by another Barrister, p. 105.



Logos from the schools of the philosophers into the System of Christianity.

*Heretics are not only convicted of stealing from the comic writers: but they likewise collect together the sayings of all those, who are ignorant of God, and who are called philosophers. Out of these numerous vile borrowed rags, they industriously patch up a sort of cento: and thus, through the introduction of a new doctrine, they prepare for themselves, with subtle eloquence, a system superficially plausible*<sup>1</sup>.

He then goes on indignantly to remark: that their dishonest corruptions of Christianity are no better, than so many mere plagiarisms from Thales and Homer and Anaximander, and Anaxagoras and Democritus and Epicurus and PLATO and Empedocles and Aristotle and Pythagoras.

2. Exactly similar also are the repeated declarations of Tertullian.

*Turning from the Christians to the philosophers, from the Church to the Academy and the Portico, Hermogenes has thence borrowed from the Stoics the phantasy of conjoining Matter with the Deity. For Matter, he contends, always existed; being neither*

<sup>1</sup> Et non solum, quæ apud comicos posita sunt, arguuntur, quasi propria proferentes: sed etiam, quæ apud omnes qui Deum ignorant et qui dicuntur *philosophi*, sunt dicta, hæc congregant; et, quasi centonem ex multis et pessimis panniculis consarcientes, superficiem subtili eloquio sibi ipsi præparaverunt. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. ii. c. 19. § 2. p. 117.



*born, nor made, nor having either beginning or end: and, out of this, God afterward created all things*<sup>1</sup>.

*In good truth, I grieve to say: that PLATO has become the universal seasoner of heretics.—Since, then, those matters, which heretics borrow, are insinuated by PLATO, I shall sufficiently confute heretics, if I demolish the argument of PLATO*<sup>2</sup>.

PHILOSOPHERS ARE THE PATRIARCHS OF HERETICS<sup>3</sup>.

*Finally, heresies themselves are suborned from philosophy*<sup>4</sup>.

Thus speaks Tertullian respecting what he deems the very hot-bed of heresy. Yet, according to a favourite and cherished hypothesis of the modern Antitrinitarian School, this very Tertullian, it will be recollected, was so enamoured of gentile philosophy, that he became a grievous and

<sup>1</sup> A Christianis enim conversus ad philosophos, de Ecclesia in Academiam et Porticum, inde sumpsit a Stoicis materiam cum Domino ponere: quæ et ipsa semper fuerit, neque nata neque facta nec initium habens omnino nec finem; ex qua Dominus omnia postea fecerit. Tertull. adv. Hermog. § 1. Oper. p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Doleo, bona fide, Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum.—Cum igitur hujusmodi argumento illa insinuentur a Platone quæ hæretici mutuantur, satis hæreticos repercutiam, si argumentum Platonis elidam. Tertull. de anim. Oper. p. 659.

<sup>3</sup> HÆRETICORUM PATRIARCHÆ PHILOSOPHI. Tertull. adv. Hermog. § 4. Oper. p. 339.

<sup>4</sup> Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophia subornantur. Tertull. adv. hæ. § 2. Oper. p. 97.

shameless pilferer from it, for the purpose of enriching Christianity with doctrines which Christianity herself was wholly ignorant of: and, in the hopeful process of depredation, he was eagerly joined by those, who have been styled *his learned contemporaries*.

III. Bad, however, as pagan philosophy might be in the judgment of the early Fathers; it still, they thought, contained some points, good in themselves, and even conformable to divine revelation. But such exceptions to a general rule reflected small credit upon the philosophers. Whatever was bad, was their own: whatever was good, if we may believe these primitive theologians, they remorselessly stole or borrowed from Moses and the Prophets.

1. Such is the theory, by which Justin would account for the existence of all that was praiseworthy in gentile philosophy.

*Your philosophers, says he to the Greeks, through the agency of divine providence, have unwillingly been even themselves compelled to speak on our side of the question: and more especially those, who sojourned in Egypt, and who were benefited by the theoseby of Moses and his ancestors. For those of you, who are acquainted with the history of Diodorus and with the productions of other similar writers, can scarcely, I think, be ignorant: that Orpheus and Homer and Solon and Pythagoras and Plato*

*and several others, having sojourned in Egypt and having been benefited by the history of Moses, afterward set forth matters directly contrary to their former indecorous speculations concerning the gods.*

*Thus, for instance, Orpheus, though the first teacher of polytheism among you, declared, to his son Musèus and to other sincere hearers, the unity of the Godhead.—We find him also adjuring THE VOICE OF THE FATHER: by which expression he means THE WORD OF GOD, through whom were produced the heavens and the earth and the whole creation, as the divine prophecies of holy men teach us. For, becoming partially acquainted with these prophecies in Egypt, he thence learned: that the whole creation was produced by THE WORD OF GOD.—*

*Pythagoras, likewise, who through symbols mystically declared the dogmata of his philosophy, learned just sentiments, concerning the unity of God, during his abode in Egypt.—*

*After a similar manner, Plato, as it seems, learned in Egypt the doctrine of Moses and the other prophets respecting one only God.—For, wishing to interpret to the ignorant what was mystically said concerning the eternity of God, he wrote as follows: GOD, AS THE ANCIENT DISCOURSE SETS FORTH, HAS THE BEGINNING AND THE END AND THE MIDDLE OF ALL THINGS. Here, under the name of THE ANCIENT DISCOURSE, Plato clearly and openly alludes to the Law of Moses: though, through fear of aconite, he did not venture*



*to mention the precise name of the Hebrew Legislator*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Πολλά γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὑπὸ τῆς θείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων προνοίας, καὶ ἄκοντες ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Μῶυσέως καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ θεοσεβείας ὠφεληθέντες. Οὐ γὰρ λανθάνειν ἐνίους ὑμῶν οἶμαι, ἐντυχόντας πάντως πον τῇ τε Διοδώρου ἱστορία καὶ ταῖς τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν περὶ τούτων ἱστορησάντων, ὅτι καὶ Ὀρφεὺς, καὶ Ὀμηρος, καὶ Σόλων ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίοις γεγραφῶς, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μῶυσέως ἱστορίας ὠφεληθέντες, ὕστερον ἐναντία τῶν πρότερον μὴ καλῶς περὶ θεῶν δοξάντων αὐτοῖς ἀπεφήναντο.

Ὀρφεὺς γ' οὖν, ὁ τῆς πολυθεότητος ὑμῶν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, πρῶτος διδάσκαλος γεγονῶς, οἷα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Μουσαῖον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γνησίους ἀκροατὰς ὕστερον περὶ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ κηρύττει λέγων, ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομῆσαι ὑμᾶς.—Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις δὲ οὕτως· Οὐρανὸν ὀρκίζω σὲ Θεοῦ μεγάλου σοφοῦ ἔργον· Αὐδὴν ὀρκίζω σὲ Πατρὸς τὴν φθέγγατο πρῶτον, ἠνίκα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἑαῖς στηρίζατο βουλαῖς. Τί βούλεται τὸ λέγειν αὐτόν· Αὐδὴν ὀρκίζω σὲ Πατρὸς τὴν φθέγγατο πρῶτον; Αὐδὴν ἐνταῦθα τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀνομάζει Λόγον, δι' οὗ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐγένετο κτίσις, ὡς διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ θεῖαι τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν προφητεῖαι, αἷς ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ προσχῶν, ἔγνω, ὅτι τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ πᾶσα ἐγένετο ἡ κτίσις.

Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Μνησάρχου Πυθαγόρας, ὁ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας διὰ συμβόλων μυστικῶς ἐκθέμενος, ὡς δηλοῦσιν οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ γεγραφότες, ἄξια καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποδημίας περὶ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ φρονῶν φαίνεται.—

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Πυθαγόρας· Πλάτων δὲ, ἀποδεξάμενος μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὴν περὶ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου Θεοῦ Μῶυσέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν διδασκαλίαν, ἦν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος ἔγνω.—Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ὥσπερ ἐρμηνεῦσαι τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὸ μυστικῶς περὶ τῆς αἰδιότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς μετοχῆς εἰρημένον βουλόμενος ὁ Πλάτων, αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτω γέγραφεν· Ὁ μὲν δὲ Θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ



To the same purpose he speaks in the second of his two Apologies : though he does not here specify the source, whence he supposes the philosophical Pagans to have derived the better articles of their theology.

*The doctrines of Plato are not entirely alien from those of Christ, while yet they are not altogether similar : and this remark applies equally to the doctrines of other writers, whether they be Stoics or poets or historians.—*

*Whatsoever things, therefore, have been well spoken by all of these, are the property of us Christians : for, next after God (the Father), we worship and we love THE WORD, who is from the unbegotten and ineffable God ; since, for our sakes, he became man, in order also that, being made a joint partaker of our passions, he might effect our healing<sup>1</sup>.*

His language is still the same in his first

παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν πάντων ἔχων. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πλάτων, σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς, τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον Μῶνσέως ὀνομάζει νόμον, τοῦ μὲν ὀνόματος Μῶνσέως, φόβῳ τοῦ κωνείου, μεμνηῆσθαι δεδιώς. Justin. Cohort. ad Græc. Oper. p. 11, 12, 14, 18.

<sup>1</sup> Οὐχ ὅτι ἀλλότρια ἐστὶ τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι πάντῃ ὁμοία, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, Στωϊκῶν τε, καὶ ποιητῶν, καὶ συγγραφέων.—“Ὅσα οὖν παρὰ πᾶσι καλῶς εἴρηται, ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐστὶ· τὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀρρήτου Θεοῦ Λόγον, μετὰ τὸν Θεόν, προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, ὅπως καὶ, τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων συμμέτοχος γενόμενος, ἴασιν ποιήσῃται. Justin. Apol. ii. Oper. p. 40.

Apology, even when he is expressly noticing the fancied Trinity of Plato. Here, as before, his avowed theory is: not that Christians could properly be said to agree with the philosophic Pagans, for such an expression might seem to imply an act of *borrowing* on the part of Christians; but, on the contrary, that, through imitation of the doctrine professed by Christians, all the Platonists avowed what they *did* avow.

*It is not, that we hold the same opinions with others, he asserts: but that all, through imitation, speak our tenets*<sup>1</sup>.

The cautious inquirer will not fail to observe: that Justin, though, after the humour of the age, very anxious to *discover* the doctrine of the personal Word and the Trinity in the old theology of Orpheus and in the recondite philosophy of Plato, never once expresses the least notion of *borrowing* it from those quarters, and of thence *introducing* it into Christianity. On the contrary, the whole tenor of his language is *precisely opposed* to the conduct which Dr. Priestley and others of the Antitrinitarian School would ascribe to him. According to this very hasty class of writers, Justin *borrow*s the doctrine of the Word from Platonism, and thence *introduces* it into Christ-

<sup>1</sup> Οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ οὖν ἡμεῖς ἄλλοις δοξάζομεν, ἀλλ' οἱ πάντες τὰ ἡμέτερα μιμούμενοι λέγουσι. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 73. See the entire passage cited above, book ii. chap. 6. § 1. 3.

ianity: but, according to his own account of the matter, Justin, *finding* that doctrine already taught by the Catechists of the Church from the inspired volume of the New Testament and from the then well remembered preaching of the Apostles, feels a strong desire to *discover* some vestiges of it also in the ancient theology of Orpheus and of Plato, on the avowed theory, that both Orpheus and Plato learned it in Egypt from the writings of Moses.

2. The hypothesis, advocated by Clement of Alexandria, is exactly the same as the hypothesis of Justin. Plato and Pythagoras are the borrowers from Moses and the prophets: not Justin and Clement, from Plato and Pythagoras.

*Plato remarks: GOD, AS ALSO THE ANCIENT DISCOURSE TEACHES, COMPREHENDS THE BEGINNING AND THE END AND THE MIDDLE OF ALL THINGS.—Whence, O Plato, did you thus darkly set forth the truth?—THE NATIONS OF THE BARBARIANS, says he, ARE WISER THAN THOSE. Truly I well know your teachers, though you may wish to conceal them.—From the Hebrews you have borrowed, both all your good laws, and your opinion respecting the Deity*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ὁ μὲν δὴ Θεὸς, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτήν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων.—Πόθεν, ὦ Πλάτων, ἀλήθειαν αἰνίττη;—Σοφώτερά, φησι, τούτων βαρβάρων τὰ γένη. Οἶδά σου τοὺς διδασκάλους, κὰν ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλῃς.—Νόμους δὲ τοὺς ὅσοι ἀληθεῖς, καὶ δόξαν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, παρ' αὐτῶν ὠφέλησαι τῶν Ἑβραίων. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gent. Oper. p. 45, 46.



*Pythagorus transferred largely from our Scriptures into his own system of dogmatic philosophy. For Numenius, the pythagorèan philosopher, undisguisedly writes: WHAT IS PLATO, SAVE MOSES ATTICISING<sup>1</sup>?*

*The philosophers of the Greeks, without acknowledging their obligations, borrowed the best of their dogmata from Moses and the prophets<sup>2</sup>.*

IV. With respect to what has been denominated the Trinity of Plato; however its component members may be enumerated, it certainly is no Triad of three distinct persons.

According to Justin Martyr, the three principles of the greek philosopher were *God* and *Matter* and *Form*: to which he sometimes added a fourth, under the title of *The Soul of the Universe*<sup>3</sup>. But

<sup>1</sup> Πυθαγόρας πολλά τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν μετενέγκας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δογματοποιΐαν. Νουμήνιος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος φιλόσοφος ἀντικρυσ γράφει· Τί γάρ ἐστι Πλάτων, ἢ Μωσῆς ἀττικίζων; Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. Oper. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Κλέπτας λέγεσθαι τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφους, παρὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν δογμάτων οὐκ εὐχαρίστως εἰληφότας. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. Oper. p. 550.

<sup>3</sup> Τοῦ γὰρ Πλάτωνος τρεῖς ἀρχαὲς τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι λέγοντος, Θεὸν καὶ Ὑλὴν καὶ Εἶδος· Θεὸν μὲν, τὸν πάντων ποιητὴν· Ὑλὴν δὲ, τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν γενομένων γενέσει, καὶ τὴν πρόφασιν αὐτῇ τῆς δημιουργίας παρέχουσαν· Εἶδος δὲ, τὸ ἐκάστου τῶν γινομένων παράδειγμα. Justin. Cohort. ad Græc. Oper. p. 5.

Ὁ γ' οὖν Πλάτων ποτὲ μὲν τρεῖς ἀρχαὲς τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι λέγει, Θεὸν καὶ Ὑλὴν καὶ Εἶδος· ποτὲ δὲ τέσσαρας, προστίθησι γὰρ τὴν καθόλου Ψυχὴν. Justin. Cohort. ad Græc. Oper. p. 6.



Porphyry exhibits Plato's second and third principles, as being active instead of passive: whence he sums up the entire three, as the *Highest Good God*, the *Second Creative God*, and the *Soul of the World*<sup>1</sup>. And this last statement of the speculation seems to be favoured by the language of Plato himself: for, mentioning them altogether in his second epistle to Dionysius, he denominates his three divine principles, *Essential Goodness*, and *Creative Intellect*, and *The Universal Mundane Soul*<sup>2</sup>.

Now, in the Triad of Plato, some of the early Fathers wished to *discover* a real though corrupted declaration of the three persons of the Trinity: and the theory, upon which they proceeded, was avowedly the following.

The doctrine of the Trinity, they maintained, so far from being an invention of Plato, was in truth a primitive patriarchal revelation of the divine nature. This primitive revelation was, with a more ample development, confirmed under the Gospel. Plato, meanwhile, had corruptedly borrowed its outline from the writings of Moses and

<sup>1</sup> Πορφύριος γάρ φησι, Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθέμενος δόξαν· Ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτω Θεὸν τὰγαθόν· μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸν Δημιουργόν· τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου Ψυχὴν· ἄχρι γὰρ Ψυχῆς τὴν Θεϊότητα προελθεῖν. Cyril. cont. Julian. lib. i. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> See Cudworth's *Intellect. Syst.* book i. chap. 4. p. 406—408.

the Prophets. Consequently, men need not wonder to have found a prominent dogma, both of the ancient Hebrew Church and of its successor the Christian Church, in the Works of a speculative Greek, who had been largely conversant with the Orientals<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Ὡστε Λόγῳ Θεοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ προδηλωθέντων διὰ Μωσέως, γεγεννηῆσθαι τὸν πάντα κόσμον, καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐμάθομεν, καὶ ὑμεῖς πεισθῆναι δύνασθε. —Καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρὰ Πλάτωνι Τιμαίῳ φυσιολογούμενον περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτε λέγει, Ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντί· παρὰ Μωσέως λαβὼν, ὁμοίως εἶπεν. —Τὴν μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν δύναμιν κεχιάσθαι ἐν τῷ παντί εἶπε. Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν τρίτον, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς προείπομεν, ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων ἀνέγνω ὑπὸ Μωσέως εἰρημένον ἐπιφέρεισθαι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα· δευτέραν μὲν γὰρ χώραν τῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ Λόγῳ, ὃν κεχιάσθαι ἐν τῷ παντί ἔφη, δίδωσι· τὴν δὲ τρίτην, τῷ λεχθέντι ἐπιφέρεισθαι τῷ ὕδατι Πνεύματι, εἰπὼν, Τὰ δὲ τρίτα περὶ τὸν τρίτον. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 72, 73.

Καὶ Πλάτων δὲ, μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὴν Ὑλην, τὸ Εἶδος τρίτην ἀρχὴν εἶναι λέγων, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν πόθεν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Μωσέως τὴν πρόφασιν εἰληφώς φαίνεται. Justin. Cohort. ad Græc. Oper. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρ' οὖν ὁ τὸν αἰδίου Νοῦν καὶ λόγῳ καταλαμβανόμενον περινοήσας Θεὸν, καὶ τὰ ἐπισυμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ ἐξειπεῖν, τὸ ὄντως ὄν, τὸ μονοφυές, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποχεόμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ἀλήθεια· καὶ περὶ πρώτης δυνάμεως· καὶ ὡς περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντα ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνου ἔνεκεν πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνος αἴτιον πάντων, καὶ περὶ δύο καὶ τρία· δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα· περὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ λεγομένων γεγονέναι, μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τἀληθές μαθεῖν ἐνόμισεν; Athenag. Legat. § cxxi. p. 92, 93.

Σιωπῶ γὰρ Πλάτων· ἀντικρυς οὗτος, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐράστον καὶ Κορίσκον ἐπιστολῇ, φαίνεται Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, ἐκ

Such was their theory, by which they would account for the appearance of a remarkable specu-

τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γραφῶν ἐμφαίνων, παρακελευόμενος κατὰ λέξιν Ἐπομνύοντας σπουδῇ τε ἅμα μὴ ἀμούσῳ, καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς ἀδελφῆ παιδείᾳ, τὸν πάντων Θεὸν αἴτιον, καὶ τοῦ Ἡγεμόνος καὶ Αἰτίου Πατέρα, Κύριον ἐπομνύοντας· ἐὰν ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφήσητε, εἴσεσθε. "Ἦτε ἐν Τιμαίῳ δημογορία Πατέρα καλεῖ τὸν Δημιουργόν, λέγουσα ὡδὲ πως· Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ Πατὴρ, Δημιουργός τε ἔργων. "Ὡστε καὶ, ἐπὶ ἀν εἶπη· Περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντα ἐστὶ, κακείνου ἔνεκεν τὰ πάντα· κακείνο αἴτιον ἀπάντων καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ, περὶ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ τρίτον, περὶ τὰ τρίτα· οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἔξακούω, ἢ τὴν Ἁγίαν Τριάδα μνηύεσθαι· τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι, τὸ Ἁγιον Πνεῦμα· τὸν Υἱὸν δὲ, δεύτερον, δι' οὗ πάντα ἐγένετο κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ Πατρός. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. Oper. p. 598.

Πυθαγόρας δὲ καὶ Πλάτων, διατετριφότες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ πολλοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖσι περιτυγχάνοντες, ἅτε δὴ φιλομαθεστάτῳ τε ὄντι καὶ φιλοστόρε, οὐκ ἠγνοησάτην τὴν Μωσέως ἀρετὴν.—Ἐντεῦθεν, οἶμαι, τὸν περὶ Θεοῦ λόγον οὐκ ἀκόμψως ἐκμεμαθηκότας, ἐπιεικέστερόν πως παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ δοξάζσαι, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλέσθαι φρονεῖν.—Πορφύριος γάρ φησι, Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθέμενος δόξαν· Ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν τοῦ Θείου προελθεῖν οὐσίαν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτῳ Θεὸν τάγαθόν· μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δεύτερον, τὸν Δημιουργόν· τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου Ψυχὴν· ἄχρι γὰρ Ψυχῆς τὴν Θεϊότητα προελθεῖν. Ἴδου δὴ σαφῶς ἐν τούτοις, ἄχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν τοῦ Θείου προελθεῖν οὐσίαν, ἰσχυρίζεται. Εἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὄλων Θεός· κατευρύνεται δὲ ὡσπερ ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γνῶσις εἰς Ἁγίαν τε καὶ Ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα· εἷς τε Πατέρα, φημί, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ Ἁγιον Πνεῦμα, ὃ καὶ Ψυχὴν τοῦ κόσμου φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων.—Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Πορφύριος περὶ Πλάτωνος· Διὸ ἐν ἀπορρήτοις περὶ τούτων αἰνιττόμενός φησι· Περὶ τὸν βασιλέα πάντα ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνου ἔνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον πάντων καλῶν, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα· ὡς γὰρ πάντων μὲν περὶ τοὺς τρεῖς ὄντων Θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἤδη πρώτῳ μὲν περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα, δευτέρῳ δὲ περὶ τὸν



lation in the writings of a gentile philosopher. But, as for *borrowing* the doctrine of the Trinity from the Triad of Plato and thence *introducing* it into the primitive Christian Church; which is the wild hypothesis of the modern Antitrinitarian School: we have no evidence whatsoever, that such a notion at any time entered into their heads, or that such a mutation was ever adopted in practice. In truth, to speak more accurately, this strange phantasy is not only *negatively unsupported* by any testimony, but it is even *positively contradicted* by a mass of evidence the most complete and the most overwhelming. For, since we have direct proof, that Justin and Irenèus and Athenagoras and Clement and Tertullian *found* the doctrine of the Trinity already from the very first existing IN the Church: it is obvious, that, by no possibility, could they have *borrowed* and *introduced*, as a hitherto unheard of novelty, this identical doctrine INTO the Church.

Under the presumption, in short, that the greek philosophers stole largely from Moses and the Prophets, the early Fathers seem to have been fond of *discovering* fancied affinities. But here the mat-

ἀπ' ἐκείνου Θεόν, καὶ τρίτῳ περι τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου. Δεδίλωκε δὲ ἐμφαίνων καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων ὑπόστασιν, ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τὴν ὑπόβασιν καὶ ὕφεισιν τῶν μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον, διὰ τοῦ πρώτῳ καὶ δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἑνὸς τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ σώζεται. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. i. p. 29, 34.



ter ended. Their conduct closely resembled the conduct of various modern writers among ourselves, who have fancied that they could detect vestiges of the Trinity of Scripture in the Triads of Paganism. My own persuasion is: that not the slightest connection subsists between them, and that the Triads of the Gentiles originated from a totally different source<sup>1</sup>. But, whether my individual persuasion be well founded or ill founded, even a Horsley has condescended to tread in the steps of the early ecclesiastical speculatists: for, nearly after their fashion, he has adventured to trace the christian dogma, in the Mysteries of Orpheus and Pythagoras, in the traditional statement of Plato, in the secrets of the Egyptian Priesthood, in the theology of Persia and Chaldæa, in the Orgies of the Samothracian Cabiri, and in the joint adoration of the three great gods of the Roman Capitol<sup>2</sup>.

How, then, stands the real question? Truly, those ingenious theorists of the Antitrinitarian School, who, because Justin and the early Fathers *discovered* the doctrine of the Trinity in the writings of Plato, thence rapidly advance to the con-

<sup>1</sup> The Triads of the Gentiles, with a singular mixture of Sabianism and Materialism, originated, as the legends attached to them distinctly shew, from the three sons of Adam, viewed as transmigratively re-appearing in the three sons of Noah. See my Origin of Pagan Idolatry, book i. chap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Horsley's Charge, § II. 2. Tracts, p. 43, 44.

clusion, that Justin and the early Fathers *borrowed* and *introduced* the doctrine into the primitive Church: truly, those ingenious theorists, among whom shines out preëminently the Historian of the Corruptions of Christianity, might with equal cogency, on the self-same principles, demonstrate; that, because Bishop Horsley *discovered* the doctrine of the Trinity in the Triads of Paganism, he most indubitably from that quarter *borrowed* and *introduced* the doctrine into the hitherto antitrinitarian Church of England.

It is not unworthy of note, that, when Celsus, in the second century, for the purpose of depreciating the Gospel, had alleged, not merely (like Dr. Priestley) against the *Christians* of that day, but even against *Christianity* itself, that *it had largely borrowed from the philosophers and especially from Plato*: Origen, who answered him in the third century, treated the whole of this attack as a mere baseless calumny<sup>1</sup>, on the ground; that, what Celsus would refer to Plato or to Heraclitus, had been said, long before their time, by the ancient hebrew prophets<sup>2</sup>.

I may add, what is somewhat remarkable, that, although Celsus adduced from Plato the same passage as that which is also adduced by Justin and Clement and Athenagoras and Cyril, *he did*

<sup>1</sup> " Ἀλλήν Κέλσου κατηγορίαν.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 283—293.

not bring it forward for the purpose of shewing that *Christians had borrowed from Plato the doctrine of the Trinity*, as they brought it forward for the purpose of shewing that *Plato had borrowed that doctrine from Moses and the Prophets*: but he adduced it, simply in order to intimate, that *some of the magnificent scriptural descriptions of the power and majesty of God fell short of it in dignity and sublimity*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ταῦτα δ' ἠγησάμην βραχέα ἀπὸ πλείστων ὄσων τῶν περὶ Θεοῦ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνδράσι νενοημένων παραθέσθαι, δεικνὺς, ὅτι τῶν θαυμασθέντων ὑπὸ Κέλσου πλατωνικῶν λόγων ἔχει τι σεμνότερον, τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν τὰ σεμνὰ τῶν γραφῶν δυναμένους, τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν προφητῶν γράμματα.

Ἔχει δ' ἡ Πλάτωνος λέξις, ἣν ὁ Κέλσος ἐξέθετο, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

Περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνου ἕνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον ἀπάντων καλῶν. Δεύτερον δὲ, περὶ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ τρίτον, περὶ τὰ τρίτα. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 287, 288.

## CHAPTER IX.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT THE TRINITY OF  
THE EARLY FATHERS DIFFERED ESSENTIALLY FROM  
THE TRINITY OF THE MODERN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

---

THAT *The doctrine of a Trinity was taught and maintained by the Fathers of the early Church*: is a fact, which at length it has been found impossible absolutely to deny.

Under such circumstances, for the purpose of avoiding the consequence which from this incontrovertible fact so obviously results; the consequence, namely, that, *If the doctrine of a Trinity was publicly taught and maintained by the Fathers of the early Church, the early Church, of which they were the accredited teachers, and with which they were always in unreprieved communion, must herself also, from the very beginning, have held that doctrine*<sup>1</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lindsey, as we have seen, fully acknowledges: that, what the Fathers of the three first centuries held and taught, all christian people, by a necessary consequence, must also have held. *This* he acknowledges: the only question therefore is, what those Fathers *did* teach. See above, book ii. chap. 6. in init.



under such circumstances, the writers of the Antitrinitarian School are wont to contend: that *The Trinity, as first introduced and received into the Church, long, most widely and most vitally, differed from the Trinity of more modern Christianity; for, though THE SON'S PERFECT EQUALITY WITH THE FATHER be the present approved scheme of orthodoxy, the original introducers and favourers of Trinitarianism stoutly maintained THE SON'S ESSENTIAL INFERIORITY TO THE FATHER.*

Now, by the very occurrence of cumulative discrepancy, this matter, they allege, clearly marks the progress of corruption.

When Trinitarianism, say they, was first engrafted upon the simplicity of primitive Unitarianism, no one ever asserted: that *Christ is properly and essentially God.* On the contrary, he was viewed in a light greatly inferior to the Father: and, instead of being deemed equal to him, he was considered rather as a sort of secondary and created God; for, at the commencement of the corruption, the new theory was not very dissimilar to that system of doctrine, which, at a later period, received the name of *Arianism.* With respect to the favourite modern tenet of THE PERFECT COEQUALITY AND COETERNITY OF THE THREE PERSONS OF THE TRINITY, it was altogether unknown, until the huge fabric of gradual corruption was at length completed.

Such a statement, even were it admissible, would not, so far as I can discern, materially serve

the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism: for, if, on the one hand, it condemned Trinitarianism, as *at present* understood and received; it would equally, on the other hand, condemn Antitrinitarianism, as *now* propounded and enforced by the School of Dr. Priestley.

The early Fathers, quite up to the apostolic age, held and taught *some* doctrine of a Trinity. But, in *whatever* mode the early Fathers held the doctrine of a Trinity, in *that same* mode the Catholic Church from the very beginning must have held it. Consequently, let the *precise* doctrine have been what it may, it could only, as having been universally received from the very beginning, have been introduced into the Church Catholic by the Apostles themselves. Hence, if we admit the divine inspiration of the Apostles (and, if we deny it, we entirely shift the ground of the argument): modern Antitrinitarianism would be proved, even by the present statement, to be a palpable departure from the primitive faith, quite as much as, though in an opposite direction to, modern Trinitarianism.

Let this, however, pass: and let us hear the determination put forth by the Historian of the Corruptions of Christianity.

*We find, upon all occasions; that the early Christian Writers speak of the Father as superior to the Son: and, in general, they give him the title of GOD, as distinguished from the Son; and sometimes they*

*expressly call him, exclusively of the Son, THE ONLY TRUE GOD: a phraseology, which does not at all accord with the idea of the perfect equality of all the persons in the Trinity. But it might well be expected, that the advances to the present doctrine of the Trinity should be gradual and slow. It was, indeed, some centuries before it was completely formed*<sup>1</sup>.

Thus speaks Dr. Priestley: and, forthwith adopting the speculation advanced by the Historian, his implicit follower the Barrister eagerly promulgates it afresh with increasing confidence. Having stated anew the discoveries of his predecessor, that Tertullian and Origen confess and lament the horror with which the bulk of their contemporaries viewed the then novel doctrine of Christ's divinity, he proceeds in the following manner.

*Though we are not to consider the Fathers as AUTHORITIES in the interpretation of the Scriptures, but are bound to examine and judge for ourselves: yet we cannot avoid considering their TESTIMONY to be of great weight, when they are relating matters of fact; more particularly when they are facts militating against their own peculiar opinions. Which, we must bear in mind too, shocking as they then appeared to the great body of plain unlettered Christians who at that time constituted the majority of*

<sup>1</sup> Priestley's Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 3. Works, vol. v. p. 36.



*believers, were much less calculated to shock their minds, than those which succeeded them in the course of another century; as one corruption paved the way for, and was closely followed by, another. For the Trinity of the Fathers of that period, as declared by themselves (of which I can produce very clear and satisfactory proofs from their own writings), consisted of three UNEQUAL persons, of whom the Father was SUPREME*<sup>1</sup>.

Like his prototype Dr. Priestley, the Barrister has unhappily fallen into the delusive habit, of hastily catching up a promising expression, and of forthwith expecting it to do wonders for the cause which he has unguardedly been led to espouse. Without once stopping to examine the drift or context of the place, he incontinently notes it down as a *very clear and satisfactory proof* of the point to be established: and then rapidly sends it forth into the world, totally pretermittting and ap-

<sup>1</sup> Letters by another Barrister, p. 282, 283. The reader will recollect, that *the great body of plain unlettered Christians*, whom the Barrister represents as *shocked at the doctrine of Christ's divinity*, were, in truth, certain ignorant individuals, who, by Praxeas, had been seduced, from the primeval doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, to the monstrous novelty of believing: that *Christ himself, exclusively, is the sole supreme unipersonal Deity; who, in respect to his different functions or offices, variously assumed the several mere titles of Father and Son and Spirit*. See above, book ii. chap. 5. Such is the manner, in which ancient ecclesiastical history is read and propounded by the doctors of the modern Antitrinitarian School!



parently having never read those other explanatory passages, which, if adduced, would have immediately shewn, that his merely partial and utterly misunderstood authority was nothing to the purpose.

This unfortunate propensity of the Historian and the Barrister, I have already had occasion to notice, in more than a single instance, as Athanasius and Tertullian and Origen and Justin successively passed before us in masquerading habits which might well have concealed them from the sagacity of even maternal inspection. I have now to perform the task of exhibiting another specimen of the same very mischievous and very reprehensible humour.

Our two authors, it seems, are quite sure: that *The Trinity of the early Ecclesiastics, as declared by themselves (of which the Barrister can produce very clear and satisfactory proofs from their own writings), was very different from the Trinity of the modern Catholic Church; for the Trinity of the former consisted of three UNEQUAL persons, among whom the Father is SUPREME; while the Trinity of the latter consists of three EQUAL persons, among whom the Father is NOT SUPREME.*

The knowledge of ancient Theology, and the knowledge of modern Theology, possessed by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister, may justly, in point of extent and accuracy, be pronounced much about equal.

I. With respect to the doctrine, *really* held by the old Ecclesiastical Writers in regard to the mode of the Deity's subsistence, it may be briefly stated in manner following.

*The perfect Unity of the Godhead subsists, as an undivided and mutually inherent Trinity. But, in the divine Trinity, there is an orderly gradation of consubstantial and coëternal and coëqual persons, with an economical distribution of covenanted offices.*

1. This primitive doctrine, which plainly involves the two ideas of EQUALITY under one aspect and of INEQUALITY under another aspect, it may be useful to state somewhat more largely under the form of separate propositions.

(1.) In regard to the double nature of Christ, divine and human, the ancient writers taught as follows.

*The Son is EQUAL to the Father, as touching his godhead. But he is INFERIOR to the Father, as touching his manhood.*

(2.) In regard to the Trinity, when viewed abstractedly from the humanity of the Son as that Trinity was believed to have existed before the incarnation of the divine Word, the following was their doctrine.

*Essentially or physically, the three divine consubstantial persons are EQUAL. But there is a gradation in them, which places the Father FIRST in order.*

*For the Father is God of himself or The Unde-*

*derived Fountain of Deity : and, therefore, he is so far SUPREME* <sup>1</sup>.

*The Son is God from the Father, eternal Emanation from eternal Light, true God from true God.*

*And the Holy Ghost is God from the Father and from the Son, eternally by the Son proceeding from the Father : so that the Father and the Son are one God in the unity of the Spirit* <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The titles of *Ἀυτόθεος* and *Πηγὴ Θεότητος*, which by the early ecclesiastical writers are so often bestowed upon the Father, are not so bestowed (as Dr. Priestley and the Barrister seem to have fancied) for the purpose of *excluding* the Son and the Holy Spirit from full participation of essential and perfect and actual divinity, but simply for the purpose of setting forth the Father as *the underived fountain of Godhead*: a character of independent *Autotheism*, which they judged to be inapplicable either to the Son or to the Spirit, and which in truth if so applied would as its inevitable result bring out the doctrine of absolute separated Tritheism.

*Οἶδεν οὖν αὐτὸ (scil. τὸ Πνεῦμα) καὶ ὑπάρχον ἰδιοσυστάτως, καὶ τὰ πάντα ζωοποιοῦν καὶ τρέφον, καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἁγίας πηγῆς ἡρτημένον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός· πρόεισι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ χορηγεῖται τῇ κτίσει.* Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. i. p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The Latins held, that *the Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son*: the Greeks held, that *the Spirit proceeds from the Father by the Son*.

In the text, I have embodied both these two ideas: which are by no means incompatible; but which, the latter being explanatory of the former, ultimately and effectively, so far as I can see, amount to the same doctrine.

On the principle that the Father *alone* is the *Ἀυτόθεος* and the *Πηγὴ Θεότητος*, I should say: that the expression, *From*



(3.) In regard to the economical distribution of covenanted offices, they further taught in manner following.

*the Father by the Son*, is perhaps the most strictly accurate. In either case, the doctrine is the same.

I may add : that the phraseology, preferred by the Greeks, seems, if we may so conjecture from its adoption by Tertullian, to have been familiar even in the Latin Church of the second century.

Hoc mihi et in tertium gradum dictum sit, qui Spiritum non aliunde puto, quam a Patre per Filium. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 3. Oper. p. 406.

The inseparable junction, of the three nevertheless distinct persons in the Godhead, through the unity of the Spirit, is very clearly set forth by Athenagoras, who flourished about the year 170.

Ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν Υἱῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει Πνεύματος. Athenag. Legat. § ix. Oper. p. 38.

This mutual inherency of the three divine persons in one Godhead was conventionally styled their *περιχώρησις*.

From the acknowledged fact of such inherency, I conceive : that, when we speak of the Father being the *Αὐτόθεος* and the *Πηγὴ Θεότητος*, and when we say that the Son derives his subsistence by generation from the Father ; we must be understood, as using that language solely with reference to the mutual relations of the *persons* in the Trinity.

As the Son, conjointly with the Father and the Spirit, is *The Supreme Numen* : he is, I apprehend, under *this* aspect, *self-existent* ; whence, accordingly, we find him denominated *Jehovah*.

But, as the Son is, *personally*, the second in gradation : he derives, I conceive, under *that* aspect, his subsistence from the Father.

If we deny the Son's *numenical* self-existence, we deny him



*The Son, as the Word or communicative Oracle or delegated Messenger of the Father, is, to the Father, officially INFERIOR. And the Holy Spirit, as sent both by the Father and by the Son, is, both to the Father and to the Son, officially INFERIOR in like manner also.*

*But then this INFERIORITY, on the part of the Son and of the Spirit, is purely official, not physical or essential. For it is the sort of VOLUNTARY INFERIORITY which AN EQUAL assumes, when he freely agrees to act as the messenger of AN EQUAL, or when he freely consents to be delegated by AN EQUAL.*

2. Such is the INEQUALITY, associated with EQUALITY, which was held and taught by the doctors of the primitive Church. Whether they were right, or whether they were wrong, in their VIEWS : *this*, in point of fact, was their DOCTRINE.

(1.) With respect to the first of these three kinds of INEQUALITY, it requires not that any particular observation should be made upon it. For it springs, *inevitably*, from the doctrine of the two-fold nature of the Son, subsequent to the incarnation.

If the Son be perfect man, as well as perfect God ; which, in all ages, the Catholic Church has

to be Jehovah : for the very import of that name is *The Self-existent*.

If we deny the Son's *personal* derivation from the Father, thus ascribing independent *personal* self-existence to all the three hypostases alike : we inevitably run into direct Tritheism.

maintained : then it will clearly follow ; that, as man, he must be INFERIOR to the Father ; and that, as God, he must be EQUAL to the Father.

(2.) With respect to the second of them, it sets forth, not AN INEQUALITY OF NATURE ITSELF in the three persons of the Trinity, but AN ORDERLY GRADATION IN A MUTUALLY COMMON NATURE.

No words can perfectly convey to our minds a distinct conception of the Deity's mode of existence in unity : but the phraseology of Scripture, borrowed as it is from *relations* which are thoroughly familiar to us, most amply warrants the doctrine of the primitive Church on the present question.

In the mutual heavenly relationship of the two first persons of the Trinity, there must be some analogy to the mutual earthly relationship of *father* and *son* ; or the terms, *Father* and *Son*, we may be sure, would never have been adopted : for, *without* the actual existence of some analogy, the use of the terms could only serve to mislead<sup>1</sup>.

Respecting the case, then, of an earthly father and son, when they are jointly viewed with reference to all other classes of *physically inferior* beings ; *then*, as being mutually consubstantial or as partaking of a mutually common nature, they are undoubtedly *equal* : yet, when, in gradation and in office, they are severally viewed with refer-

<sup>1</sup> See below, append. ii. numb. 10.

ence to *each other*; then, they are certainly *unequal*.

Now, utterly imperfect as the resemblance may be; yet, as they were contemplated by the early Fathers of the Church, the same mode of *reasoning*, at least, is applicable to the two first persons of the Trinity: and, *beyond* this, Scripture does not authorise us to extend the comparison.

The only-begotten Son, being of the same substance or of the same physical substratum with his eternal Father; a form of speech finally adopted to meet the evasions of the Arians, though both the very name of *consubstantiality* had been frequently used, and though the doctrine of *consubstantiality* had certainly been held by all the antenicene catholic theologians: must, as such, be essentially EQUAL to him. But, *in gradation of order*, the Father being the underived fountain of deity, while the eternal Son has never not been born of the eternal Father; and, *in subordination of office*, the Son being the messenger of the Father, while the Father is the sender of the Son: under *such* an aspect, the Son must doubtless be pronounced (as indeed he *himself* most expressly declared<sup>1</sup>, and as, accordingly, the early theologians *did* pronounce him) INFERIOR to the Father.

(3.) With respect to the third kind of INEQUALITY, it leaves the essential equality of the divine

<sup>1</sup> John xiv. 28.



three wholly untouched : for it is, in truth, a mere voluntary inequality of covenanted offices.

3. It may be useful to observe, that, when the ancients treated of the second of these three kinds of INEQUALITY, they were very fond of using such physical illustrations as clearly shew; that they held the *consubstantiality* or *common nature* of the three persons in the Trinity, while at the same time they maintained the doctrine of *an orderly gradation*: and, in like manner, when they treated of the third kind of INEQUALITY, they scrupled not, under *this* aspect also, to pronounce the *physically equal* Son *officially inferior* to the Father.

The general system of doctrine, in short, which they held, and which with the Catholic Church at large they invariably professed to have received in regular succession from the Apostles, inevitably produced, and always *must* produce, the language, which has been so lamentably misapprehended by Dr. Priestley and the Barrister.

*Under some certain aspects, the Son is EQUAL to the Father: under other certain aspects, the Son is INFERIOR to the Father.*

This was the doctrine of the early theologians : and its necessary consequence was, that they used language, which, from a slovenly neglect of really examining their writings, had led the Historian and the Barrister to adopt and to print the crude speculation ; that *The ancient doctors of the Church held a Trinity of ESSENTIALLY-UNEQUAL*



*persons, among whom the Father is PHYSICALLY SUPREME.*

Now *this* opinion they NEVER maintained : nor, in fact, consistently with their avowed principles, was it even *possible*, that they *could* maintain it. For those, who taught the PHYSICAL CONSUBSTANTIALITY of the three divine persons, could not, without a palpable self-contradiction, teach also their ESSENTIAL INEQUALITY.

The Works, however, of the ancient doctors are open to the writers of the modern Antitrinitarian School. Let such writers, then, if they be able, produce, from the Works of those alleged maintainers of a PHYSICALLY UNEQUAL Trinity, Justin (to wit) and Athenagoras and Irenæus and Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, a single passage : in which the Son is pronounced to be INFERIOR to the Father, and in which the Father is asserted to be SUPREME with reference to the two other divine persons, on the specific ground ; that *The NATURE or SUBSTANCE of the Father differs from and is superior to the NATURE or SUBSTANCE of the Son and of the Spirit.*

Whenever the admirers of Dr. Priestley can do this, they will have effected their purpose : but, certainly, the labours of that Historian and his follower the Barrister, by which they claim to have shewn that *the Trinity of those early antenicene writers consisted of three UNEQUAL persons among whom the Father is SUPREME*, serve only to

demonstrate their own complete ignorance of the subject which they have so rashly undertaken to discuss.

4. The following passages, extracted from the writings of certain of the earlier Fathers, and arranged severally under their proper heads, may serve to illustrate the primitive view of the INEQUALITY subsisting between the three persons of the Trinity: an inequality, be it observed and remembered, which is *never* described, as AN INEQUALITY OF ESSENCE OR NATURE.

(1.) Let us first notice the ancient statement of that inequality, which results from substantial emanation and orderly gradation.

*We will demonstrate, says Justin Martyr, that we reasonably honour the Son of him who is truly God; reckoning him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third order.—For the first Power, after God the father and lord of all, is the Son, who is also the Word*<sup>1</sup>.

*If, on account of your surpassing intellect, says Athenagoras, you wish to learn what the Son means: in few words I will tell you. He is the first-offspring of the Father, but not as any thing created: for God is from the beginning; and, being an eternal*

<sup>1</sup> Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, Πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ Λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν.—Ἡ δὲ πρώτη δύναμις μετὰ τὸν Πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότην Θεὸν, καὶ Υἱὸς ὁ Λόγος ἐστίν. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 47, 57.

mind, he himself had within himself the Word, being eternally comprehensive of the Word.—The Holy Spirit likewise, acting efficaciously in those who prophesy, we assert to be an emanation from God, flowing from him and returning to him, as a ray of the sun. Who, then, might not well think it strange; that we, who declare God the Father and God the Son and the Holy Spirit, shewing both their power in unity and their distinction in order, should yet be called *Atheists*<sup>1</sup>?

<sup>1</sup> Εἰ, δι' ὑπερβολὴν συνέσεως, σκοπεῖν ὑμῖν ἔπεισιν, ὁ Παῖς τὶ βούλεται, ἐρῶ διὰ βραχέων· πρῶτον γέννημα εἶναι τῷ Πατρὶ, οὐχ ὡς γενόμενον· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεός, νοῦς αἰδῖος ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Λόγον, αἰδίως λογικὸς ὢν.—Καί τοι καὶ αὐτὸ, τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι προφητικῶς, "Ἁγίον Πνεῦμα, ἀπορρέον εἶναι φημὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπορρέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον, ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου. Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι, λέγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἁγίον, δεικνύντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους; Athenag. Legat. § x. p. 38—40.

The clause, *Εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Λόγον, αἰδίως λογικὸς ὢν*, is untranslatable, so as to preserve the turn of the original. I have done my best: but I have not succeeded. The argument of Athenagoras is this.

God's personal Word is the Reason of God. But God is eternally rational, or eternally comprehensive of Reason. Therefore the Word or Reason of God is eternal also.

The play upon the terms *Λόγος* and *λογικὸς*, in their greek acceptance, cannot be preserved in an english version.

There is a parallel passage of Athanasius, which may serve to elucidate this of Athenagoras.

ἌΩν ἐστὶν αἰδῖος ὁ Θεός. Ὅντος οὖν αἰεὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἔστι καὶ αἰδίως καὶ τὸ τούτου ἀπαύγασμα, ὑπερ ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ. Καὶ



*The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, says Tertullian, are three: not in state, but in degree; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in kind. For they are of one substance, and of one state, and of one power: because God is one; from whom these degrees and forms and kinds are deputed, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*<sup>1</sup>. *Whatever comes forth*

πάλιν ὁ ὢν Θεὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄντα τὸν Λόγον ἔχει. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ Λόγος ἐπιτέγονεν, οὐκ ὢν πρότερον· οὔτε ὁ Πατὴρ ἄλογος ἦν πότε. Ἡ γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τόλμα εἰς τὸν Πατέρα τὴν βλασφημίαν ἀνάγει, εἶγε ἔξωθεν ἐπενόησεν αὐτῷ σοφίαν καὶ Λόγον καὶ Υἷόν. Athan. Orat. ii. cont. Arian. Oper. vol. i. p. 154. Commel. 1600.

The ἄλογος of Athanasius is evidently the opposite to the λογικὸς of Athenagoras.

Tertullian has imitated, in Latin, the same form of phraseology and the same peculiar line of argument.

Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus, ipse sibi et mundus et locus et omnia: solus autem, quia nihil extrinsecus præter illum. Cæterum ne tunc quidem solus: habebat enim secum, quam habebat in semetipso, Rationem suam scilicet. Rationalis (Athenagoræ, τὸ Λογικὸς) enim Deus: et Ratio in ipso prius: et ita ab ipso omnia. Quæ Ratio sensus ipsius est, hanc Græci Λόγον dicunt. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 3. Oper. p. 407.

The whole argument is founded upon the double sense of the term Λόγος, which imports either *Verbum* or *Ratio*. On this double sense, Athenagoras and others of the old Fathers delighted to play. As the Father is eternally λογικὸς, his Λόγος (they argued) must be eternal also.

<sup>1</sup> Tres dirigens, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum: tres autem, non statu, sed gradu; nec substantia, sed forma; nec potestate, sed specie: unius autem substantiæ, et unius status,



*from any thing must needs be second to that, from which it does come forth : but yet it is not, on that account, separated. Now the second is, where there are two : and the third is, where there are three. For the third is the Spirit from God and the Son : even as the fruit from the tree is the third from the root ; and as a runlet from the river is the third from the fountain ; and as the apex from the sun-beam is the third from the sun. Yet, from the original whence it derives its proprieties, nothing is separated. Thus the Trinity, descending from the Father through united and connected gradations, both presents no obstacle to the monarchy, and preserves the state of the economy <sup>1</sup>.*

(2.) We may next attend to the primitive statement of that other mode of inequality, which results from the hypostatical union of God and man in one Christ.

et unius potestatis : quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, deputantur. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 2. Oper. p. 406.

<sup>1</sup> Omne, quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit : non ideo, tamen, est separatum. Secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt : et, tertius ubi est, tres sunt. Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio : sicut tertius a radice, fructus ex frutice ; et, tertius a fonte, rivus ex flumine ; et, tertius a sole, apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a matrice alienatur, ex qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita Trinitas, per consertos et connexos gradus a Patre decurrens, et monarchiæ nihil obstrepit, et οἰκονομίας statum protegit. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 7. Oper. p. 409, 410.

*When, respecting the single person of the Son, says the ancient author of The Exposition of the Faith, you hear contradictory declarations : divide, between his two natures, all such varying expressions. If, for instance, any thing great and divine be said of him ; ascribe it to his divine nature ; if, on the other hand, any thing low and human be said of him ; ascribe it to his human nature. Thus, each nature receiving its due, will you avoid all contradictoriness of language <sup>1</sup>.*

(3.) Finally let us observe the primitive statement of that third mode of inequality, which results from the spontaneous economical acceptance and discharge of office.

*Christ, says Tertullian, is called THE ANGEL OF THE GREAT COUNCIL, that is, THE MESSENGER. But this is a name of office, not of nature <sup>2</sup>.*

*He, who, being baptised among heretics, says Cyprian, can put on Christ : that person must be even yet more capable of receiving the Holy Spirit, whom Christ hath sent. But, if a person baptised*

<sup>1</sup> "Όταν οὖν ἀκούσης περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Υἱοῦ τὰς ἐναντίας φωνάς, καταλλήλως μέριζε ταῖς φύσεσι τὰ λεγόμενα. Ἄν μέγα τι καὶ θεῖον, τῇ θεῖα φύσει προσνέμων· ἂν δὲ τι μικρὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπινον, τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ λογιζόμενος. Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῶν φωνῶν ἀσύμφωνον διαφεύξῃ, ἐκάστης ἃ πέφυκε δεχομένης φύσεως. Expos. Fid. de rect. confess. in Oper. Justin. Mart. p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Dictus est quidem Magni Concilii Angelus, id est, Nuncius : officii, non naturæ, vocabulo. Tertull. de carn. Christ. § 10. Oper. p. 32.

*out of the Church can put on Christ, and yet not receive the Spirit : then the sent will be greater than the sender* <sup>1</sup>.

*Christ, says Novatian, is God : but yet so God, that he is the Son, not the Father.—If Christ were only a man, how doth he say : that The Comforter would take, from what was Christ's, the things which he was about to communicate? For neither doth the Comforter receive any thing from man ; inasmuch as the Comforter giveth knowledge to man : nor doth the Comforter receive future things from man ; inasmuch as the Comforter instructeth man respecting future things. Therefore the Comforter either did not receive from the man Christ, what he should communicate ; since man can give nothing to the Comforter, from whom man himself ought to receive : and thus, on such a supposition, Christ, in the present place, misleads and deceives us, when he says ; that, from himself, a man, the Comforter would receive what he should communicate. Or else he doth not deceive us ; as indeed he deceives us not : and then, on this more fitting supposition, what the Comforter should communicate, the Comforter did himself receive from Christ. But, if the Comforter*

<sup>1</sup> Qui potest, apud hæreticos baptizatus, Christum induere ; multo magis potest Spiritum Sanctum, quem Christus misit, accipere. Cæterum major erit mittente qui missus est, ut incipiat foris baptizatus Christum quidem induisse, sed Spiritum Sanctum non potuisse percipere. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiv. Oper. vol. ii. p. 213.



*received from Christ what he should communicate: then, since the Comforter would not have received from Christ, unless he had been inferior to Christ; it is plain, that Christ is greater than the Comforter. Now this inferiority of the Comforter to Christ demonstrates Christ to be God, even on this precise ground: namely, that The Comforter received from Christ what he communicates. Thus the circumstance, that The Comforter, being inferior to Christ, receives from Christ what he delivers to others, may be a good testimony of the divinity of Christ. Whereas, if Christ were only a man, the whole matter would be directly inverted. For, in that case, Christ would, from the Comforter, receive what he should say: not the Comforter himself receive, from Christ, what he should communicate*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Deus est ergo (scil. Christus): Deus autem sic, ut Filius sit, non Pater.—Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo Paracletum dicit de suo esse sumpturum, quæ nunciaturus sit (Johan. xvi. 14.)? Neque enim Paracletus ab homine quicquam accipit, sed homini scientiam Paracletus porrigit: nec futura ab homine Paracletus discit, sed de futuris hominem Paracletus instruit. Ergo, autem, non accepit Paracletus a Christo homine, quod nunciet; quoniam Paracleto homo nihil poterit dare a quo ipse homo debet accipere: et fallit in præsentis loco Christus et decipit; quum, Paracletum a se homine accepturum quæ nunciet, dicit. Aut non nos fallit; sicut nec fallit: et accepit Paracletus a Christo, quæ nunciet. Sed, si a Christo accepit quæ nunciet; major ergo jam Paracleto Christus est: quoniam nec Paracletus a Christo acciperet, nisi minor Christo esset. Minor autem Christo Paracletus, Christum etiam Deum esse,



*If, in Isaiah, says Origen, our Lord declares himself to have been sent by the Father and his Spirit: we must urge, respecting the Spirit who sent Christ; that the Saviour differs not from him in nature, but that he becomes inferior to him on account of the economy of the inhumanitation of the Son of God. Now, should any one be offended at my assertion; that The Saviour, having taken human nature upon him, is made inferior to the Holy Ghost: I would bring against him the declaration of St. Paul to the Hebrews; that Jesus was made less than the angels on account of his suffering death.—When the Father, therefore, as the leading principle, sends the Son; the Holy Ghost also jointly sends him: promising, that in due time he would descend upon the Son of God and would coöperate with him in the salvation of mankind<sup>1</sup>.*

hoc ipso probat; a quo accepit, quæ nunciat: ut testimonium Christi divinitatis grande sit; dum, minor Christo Paracletus repertus, ab illo sumit, quæ cæteris tradit. Quandoquidem, si homo tantummodo Christus: a Paracleta Christus acciperet, quæ diceret; non a Christo Paracletus acciperet, quæ nunciaret. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 621.

<sup>1</sup> Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀπεστάλθαι καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἔστι καὶ ἐνταῦθα περὶ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος τὸν Χριστὸν Πνεύματος ἀπολογήσασθαι, οὐχ ὡς φύσει διαφέροντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν γενομένην οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλαττωθέντος παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ σωτήρος. Εἰ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ προσκόπτει τῷ λέγειν ἠλαττώσθαι παρὰ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸν σωτήρα ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· προσεκτέον αὐτὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους λεγομένων ἐπιστολῇ, καὶ ἀγγέλων

5. The three last of these passages, that from Cyprian and that from Novatian and that from Origen, deserve jointly our peculiar attention.

(1.) As Cyprian and Novatian argue, for *the temporary official inferiority of the Spirit to the Son*; on the ground, that the Spirit is sent by the Son, and that the Spirit receives from the Son what he is about to communicate: so Origen conversely argues, for *the temporary official inferiority of the Son to the Spirit*; on the ground, that the Son is sent by the Spirit no less than by the Father.

Nothing shews more strongly the sentiments of the primitive Church in regard to EQUALITY under one aspect and INFERIORITY under another aspect, than this apparent discrepance of arrangement.

In *nature*, as Origen remarks, the Son differs not from the Spirit: but in *the economy of office*, when the Spirit jointly with the Father sends the Son, then the Son is inferior officially to the Spirit; while, on the other hand, when the Son sends the Spirit from the Father, then the Spirit is inferior officially to the Son.

(2.) Yet, from this very circumstance of official

ἐλάττονα, διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου, ἀποφηνημένου τοῦ Παύλου γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν.—Τοῦ Πατρὸς ὡς ἡγουμένου ἀποστέλλοντος τὸν Υἱὸν, συναποστέλλει καὶ συμπροπέμπει τὸ "Ἁγίον Πνεῦμα αὐτὸν, ἐν καιρῷ ὑπισχνούμενον καταβῆναι πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ συνεργῆσαι τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίᾳ. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 57, 58.

inferiority, when the Spirit stands thus economically related to the Son, Novatian deduces a very clear and very ingenious argument in proof of the Son's divinity.

His reasoning, as I have given it above in his own words, may be briefly stated in manner following.

The Holy Ghost receives from Christ the things of Christ, and communicates them to mankind. But this act of ministerial reception demonstrates the inferiority of the Holy Ghost to Christ. Now the Holy Ghost is very God, proceeding from the essence of the Father. Therefore Christ, who in office is superior to the Holy Ghost, must himself, *a fortiori*, be very God.

(3.) With respect to the text in Isaiah commented upon by Origen, it is a curious circumstance: that, as there is an ambiguity both in the Hebrew and in the Greek, so this learned Father, while he notes the fact, annexes, in two different places of his Works, two different senses to the passage.

In his Commentary on the Gospel of St. John, he understands the eternal Son to say: *The Lord Jehovah and his Spirit hath sent me* <sup>1</sup>.

But, in his Treatise against Celsus, he understands him to say: *The Lord Jehovah hath sent me and his Spirit* <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 35.



Yet, however the passage be rendered, Origen views it, as a clear and illustrious attestation, from the ancient Hebrew Scriptures, to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

II. Passages, such as those which I have now adduced, although to any person even moderately versed in Theology, their meaning is most abundantly evident, have, nevertheless, taught the Historian of The Corruptions of Christianity: that *The doctrine of the early Fathers does not at all accord with the idea of the perfect equality of all the persons in the Trinity; and that The advances to the present doctrine of the Trinity were slow and gradual.*

The anonymous Barrister, likewise, on the strength (I suppose) of these same or of some other similar passages, confident in the decision of his precursor, has positively asserted: that *The Trinity of the more ancient christian writers, as declared by themselves (of which he can produce very clear and satisfactory proofs from their own compositions), consisted of three unequal persons, among whom the Father was supreme.*

In the judgment, then, of the Historian and the Barrister, the Trinity of the ancient Church was something ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT from the Trinity of the more modern Church. For the Trinity of the ancient Church, as set forth by the early ecclesiastical writers, consisted of three UNEQUAL persons, among whom the Father is SUPREME. But



the slowly perfected Trinity of the more modern Church, which Trinity (as Dr. Priestley assures us) occupied some centuries before it was completely formed, consists of three persons PERFECTLY EQUAL IN ALL RESPECTS, among whom the Father possesses NO SUPREMACY.

1. Such is the matter, deliberately propounded as A FACT, both by one who claims to be an Historian, and by a writer whose very profession itself might have rendered him jealously careful in the sifting of evidence.

In what volumes these two authors have studied modern Trinitarianism, I shall not undertake to determine. But this, at least, I may safely assert: that *The pretended discrepance, which makes so formidable an appearance in the researches of the two investigators, exists solely in their own partial and defective and indeed grossly inaccurate representations both of the ancients and of the moderns.*

The early ecclesiastics held a Trinity, the persons of which were UNEQUAL in *gradation* and *office*, but EQUAL in *nature* and *substance*.

Modern Catholics hold a Trinity, the persons of which are EQUAL in *nature* and *substance*, but UNEQUAL in *gradation* and *office*.

The early ecclesiastics taught the SUPREMACY of the Father in *gradation* and *office*: but maintained his EQUALITY to the Son and the Spirit, in regard to *time* and *nature*.

Modern Catholics maintain his EQUALITY to the

Son and the Spirit, in regard to *time* and *nature*: but, along with it, they teach his SUPREMACY in *gradation* and *office*.

This, I believe, is the sole amount of the formidable discrepancy, which Dr. Priestley and the Barrister have discovered, between ancient Trinitarians and modern Trinitarians.

2. We have now heard the decisions of the ancients, in regard to the true scriptural doctrine of the nature of the Godhead.

Let us next hear the declarations of those moderns, who, among us Anglican Catholics, are justly venerated as fathers.

We may then, by a comparison of the former with the latter, securely judge, whether there be any ground for the assertion: that *The Trinity of the present day differs essentially from the Trinity of the early ages: inasmuch as the modern Trinity contains three persons in all respects EQUAL, no one of which is SUPREME; while the ancient Trinity contained three wholly UNEQUAL persons, among whom SUPREMACY was ascribed to the Father.*

(1.) I shall begin with stating the scheme of doctrine, propounded, under the avowed aspect of its perfect identity with the primitive scheme, by the eminently learned Bishop Pearson.

*We may safely observe: that, in the very name of FATHER, there is something of eminence, which is not in that of the Son. And some kind of priority we must ascribe unto him, whom we call THE FIRST; in*

*respect of him, whom we term THE SECOND, person. And, as we cannot but ascribe it : so must we endeavour to preserve it.*

*Now that privilege or priority consisteth not in this ; that THE ESSENCE OR ATTRIBUTES OF THE ONE ARE GREATER THAN THE ESSENCE OR ATTRIBUTES OF THE OTHER : but only in this ; that THE FATHER HATH THAT ESSENCE OF HIMSELF ; THE SON, BY COMMUNICATION FROM THE FATHER.*

*Whence he acknowledgeth : that He is from him ; that He liveth by him ; that The Father gave him to have life in himself. And he generally referreth all things to him, as received from him.*

*Wherefore, in this sense, some of the ancients have not stuck to interpret those words, The Father is greater than I, of Christ, as the Son of God, as the second person in the blessed Trinity : but still with a reference, not unto his essence, but unto his generation ; by which he is understood to have his being from the Father, who only hath it in himself, and who is the original of all power and essence in the Son. I can of mine own self do nothing, saith our Saviour ; because he is not of himself : and, whosoever receives his being, must receive his power, from another ; especially where the essence and the power are undeniably the same, as in God they are.—*

*We must not, therefore, so far involve ourselves in the darkness of this mystery, as to deny the glory which is clearly due unto the Father : whose præminence undeniably consisteth in this : that HE IS GOD,*



NOT OF ANY OTHER, BUT OF HIMSELF; *and that* THERE IS NO OTHER PERSON WHO IS GOD, BUT IS GOD OF HIM.

*It is no diminution of the Son to say: that HE IS FROM ANOTHER. For his very name imports as much. But it were a diminution of the Father so to speak of him: and there must be some præminence, where there is place for derogation.*

*What the Father is, he is from none: what the Son is, he is from the Father. What the first is, he giveth: what the second is, he receiveth.*

*The first is a Father, indeed, by reason of his Son: but he is not God by reason of him. Whereas the Son is not only so, in regard to the Father: but he is also God, by reason of the same.*

*Upon this præminence, as I conceive, may safely be grounded the congruity of the divine mission. We often read: that Christ was SENT. Whence he bears the name of AN APOSTLE himself: as well as those, whom he therefore named so; because, as the Father sent him, so sent he them. The Holy Ghost also is said to be SENT, sometimes by the Father, sometimes by the Son. But we never read, that the Father was SENT at all: there being an authority in that name, which seems inconsistent with this mission.—*

*The dignity of the Father will yet further appear, from the ORDER of the persons in the blessed Trinity: of which he is undoubtedly the first. For, although, in some passages of the apostolical discourses, the Son may first be named:—yet, where the three persons are barely enumerated and delivered unto us as the rule of faith, there that order is observed which*



*is proper to them ;—which order hath been perpetuated in all confessions of faith, and is for ever inviolably to be observed.—*

*Now this priority doth properly and naturally result from the divine paternity: so that the Son must necessarily be second unto the Father, from whom he receiveth his origination; and the Holy Ghost unto the Son.*

*Neither can we be thought to want a sufficient foundation for this priority of the first person of the Trinity, if we look upon the numerous testimonies of the ancient Doctors of the Church: who have not stuck to call the Father, the ORIGIN, the CAUSE, the AUTHOR, the ROOT, the FOUNTAIN, and the HEAD, of the Son or the whole Divinity.*

*For, by these titles, it appeareth clearly: first, that they made a considerable difference, between the person of the Father of whom are all things, and the person of the Son by whom are all things: and, secondly, that the difference consisteth properly in this; that, As the branch is from the root and the river from the fountain, and as by their origination from them they receive that being which they have; whereas the root receiveth nothing from the branch, or the fountain from the river: so the Son is from the Father, receiving his subsistence by generation from him; but the Father is not from the Son, as being what he is from none<sup>1</sup>.*

(2.) Exactly the same tenets are maintained by

<sup>1</sup> Pearson on the Creed, art. i. vol. i. p. 59—63. Oxon.

Dr. Waterland, in his Commentary on the Athanasian Creed.

*When it is said, NONE IS AFORE OR AFTER OTHER; we are not to understand it of order. For the Father is first: the Son, second: the Holy Ghost third in order. Neither are we to understand it of office. For the Father is supreme in office: while the Son and the Holy Ghost condescend to inferior offices. But we are to understand it, as the Creed itself explains it, of duration and dignity*<sup>1</sup>.

(3.) The same system of doctrine is equally maintained by Bishop Bull: who, in stating the tenets of the ancients, avowedly makes them his own by adoption.

*That decree of the Nicene Council, in which it is defined that THE SON OF GOD IS GOD FROM GOD, the catholic Doctors, who wrote either before or after the Council, have confirmed by their approbation. For they unanimously taught: that The divine nature and perfections appertain to the Father and to the Son, not collaterally or coördinately, but contrariwise subordinately. To wit: that The Son, indeed, has a common nature with the Father, but communicated from the Father. So that the Father alone has that divine nature from himself or from no other: but the Son, from the Father. Whence the Father is the fountain and origin and principle of the divinity which is in the Son.*

<sup>1</sup> Waterland on the Athan. Creed, p. 144.

*The catholic Doctors, both antenicene and post-nicene, unanimously defined: that GOD THE FATHER, EVEN IN RESPECT TO DIVINITY, IS GREATER THAN THE SON. That is to say, not greater in nature or in any essential perfection, which might be in the Father though not in the Son: but greater solely in authority or in origination; since the Son is from the Father, and not the Father from the Son.*

*This doctrine, concerning THE SUBORDINATION OF THE SON TO THE FATHER AS TO HIS OWN PROPER ORIGIN AND PRINCIPLE, the ancient Doctors thought to be very useful and altogether necessary to be known and believed: because, agreeably to such a system, the divinity of the Son may be strenuously asserted; while yet the unity and the divine monarchy of the Godhead may be strictly preserved. For, though the title and the nature be common to two, namely to the Father and to the Son of God: yet, since the one is the principle of the other whence that other is propagated, and that by interior not exterior production; the result is, that God may justly be pronounced one. The same system was, by the ancients, deemed alike applicable to the divinity of the Holy Spirit<sup>1</sup>.*

3. Such, in *all* ages, has been the faith of the Catholic Church: such it was *formerly*; and such it still continues to be *in the present day*. For the attestation both of its truth and of its immuta-

<sup>1</sup> Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. iv. c. 1. § 1. c. 2. § 1. c. 4. § 1.



bility, the modern Trinitarian, with the Works of Pearson and of Bull and of Waterland in his hands, appeals to the doctrinal statements of the early ecclesiastical writers : for he is perfectly conscious, that, between *his* tenets and *their* tenets, there exists no discrepancy.

III. Though much has already been said, for the purpose of rectifying the gross misrepresentations of the Antitrinitarian School of Theology : it will be necessary, yet again, to attend upon the steps of the very remarkable Historian of the Corruptions of Christianity.

*We find, upon all occasions, says Dr. Priestley : that the early christian writers speak of the Father as superior to the Son : and, in general, they give him the title of GOD, as distinguished from the Son : and sometimes they expressly call him, exclusively of the Son, THE ONLY TRUE GOD ; a phraseology, which does not at all accord with the idea of the perfect equality of all the persons in the Trinity.*

1. In what manner the early ecclesiastical writers represent the Father as *superior* to the Son, and in what sense they held the persons of the Holy Trinity to be *equal*, and again under what aspect they likewise deemed them *unequal* ; matters, wherein they exactly accord with the modern Trinitarian, though Dr. Priestley and the Barrister sedulously announce their discovery of an imaginary discrepance : I have now explained with as



much brevity, as the nature of the subject would admit.

Under the hands of Dr. Priestley, however, it seems, that our ancient church-literature is a mine absolutely inexhaustible. He finds, that the early christian writers give the title of GOD to the Father, as *distinguished from* the Son : and he observes, that sometimes, even *exclusively of* the Son, they expressly call him THE ONLY TRUE GOD.

These are certainly discoveries, alike novel and important and unexpected.

That the ancient ecclesiastics often style the Father both GOD and THE ONLY TRUE GOD, is indisputable : and it were special wonder, if they refused to him such titles ; for these are the very appellations bestowed upon the Father in Holy Writ itself. All this, I admit, is quite clear and incontrovertible. But, for the alleged fact, that they so bestowed the titles in question, either *contradistinctively from* the Son or *exclusively of* the Son, in order thereby to intimate their belief that *The Son is NOT very God* : for *this* alleged fact, I find no proof, save Dr. Priestley's own assumptively gratuitous interpretation of their language.

(1.) His allegation, that the ancients in general style the Father GOD *contradistinctively from* the Son, the historian, if I rightly understand him, would rest on the circumstance : that the Trinity is sometimes propounded by them, as consisting

of GOD and *The Son* and *The Spirit*. Whence, I suppose, he would demand our assent to the inference: that the writers, who *thus* propounded the Trinity, wished us to *exclude* the Son and the Spirit from all participation of deity.

Nothing can be more vain than such an inference. As I wish not to weary the inquirer with a multiplication of proofs, I shall content myself with shewing its utter futility from nothing more than the two early cases of Justin Martyr and Tertullian.

Both those writers enumerate the three persons of the Trinity, as being GOD and *The Son* and *The Spirit*<sup>1</sup>.

But do they, therefore, *deny* the divinity of the Son: the inference, which Dr. Priestley would have us draw from their phraseology?

Truly, the merest dabbler in their compositions will scarcely hazard such a crude assertion<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 43, 47. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 7. Oper. p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> On the principle laid down by Dr. Priestley, it is unfortunate, that he did not communicate his sentiments, respecting the enumeration of the persons in the Trinity by Justin's contemporary Athenagoras.

I. This very ancient writer styles the Father GOD and the Son GOD: while yet he *omits* giving the same appellation of GOD to the Holy Spirit.

Λέγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν Θεὸν, καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. Athen. Legat. § x. Oper. p. 40.

Therefore, if Dr. Priestley's system of inductive reasoning

The real principle of the phraseology, from which Dr. Priestley has learned that the ancients

be just, we must conclude : that Athenagoras *maintained* the divinity of the Son, no less than he *maintained* the divinity of the Father ; but that he *denied* the divinity of the Holy Ghost.

II. Dr. Priestley, indeed, though not precisely on the strength of *this* passage, asserts, as I remember : that *The doctrine of the personality of the Holy Ghost was unknown, until the time, and after the time, of the first Nicene Council.*

The utter futility of such an assertion will readily be perceived by those, who are in any measure conversant with the writings of the Antenicene Fathers.

To demonstrate its falsehood, I shall not *crowd* my margin with authorities : *three*, I apprehend, will be quite sufficient.

1. Irenèus repeatedly styles the Son and the Spirit *the two hands*, by which the Father created man : and he asserts ; that the Father spake to these two hands, when he said, *Let us make man after our image and likeness.* Iren. adv. hæer. lib. iv. in præfat. p. 232. lib. iv. c. 37. p. 266. lib. v. c. 8, 14. p. 322, 336, 337. See the originals cited above, append. i. numb. 1. text 1.

Now the personality of *the Son* was indisputably maintained by Irenèus : as, indeed, no one ever dreamed of denying *his* personality.

Therefore, since he homogeneously styles the Son and the Spirit *the two hands* of the Father, the plain analogy of language requires us to conclude : that he *also* held the personality of *the Spirit.*

2. With Irenèus agrees Origen. For he, distinctly and even verbally, asserts : that *The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are three hypostases or personal subsistences.*

Ἡμεῖς μέντοιγε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι τυγχάνειν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 56.



styled the Father GOD *contradistinctively* from the Son, was simply this.

They rightly taught, that the Father alone is *God of himself* and *the original fountain of Deity*<sup>1</sup>; while both the Son and the Spirit are *eternally derived* from the substance of the Father : for, had they taught otherwise, they would have fallen into direct Tritheism. Hence, in enumerating the three persons of the Trinity, they were wont, *pre-ëminently*, though not *contradistinctively*, to bestow the appellation of GOD upon the Father<sup>2</sup>.

In such phraseology, however, they meant not

3. The same doctrine is taught by Origen's contemporary, Dionysius of Alexandria. For, in a professed statement of the three persons of the Trinity, he introduces Christ, as describing himself coëternal with the Lord the Spirit.

Ἐγὼ ὁ ἐνυπόστατος ἀεὶ ὦν Χριστὸς, ὁ ἴσος τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς ὑποστάσεως, ὦν συναΐδιος καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ Πνεύματι. Dion. Alex. adv. Paul. Samosat. quæst. iv. Oper. p. 232.

In this striking passage, the term *Lord* is clearly a personal appellation : nor could such a title have ever been given to the Spirit by one, who either denied or had never heard of the Spirit's personality.

I may add : that the passage, occurring, as it does occur, in a professedly controversial Work, against one, who, in opposition to the whole Catholic Church, rejected the doctrine of the Trinity ; the inevitable conclusion is, that Dionysius was propounding, not merely his own private sentiments, but a familiarly recognised dogma of the entire Church Catholic.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀυτόθεος and Πηγὴ Θεότητος.

<sup>2</sup> See Bp. Pearson on the Creed, art. i. vol. i. p. 64, 65, with the dependent notes and authorities.



to distinguish the Son from the Father, with respect to the point of *deity*. The fancied contradistinction, on *this* point, exists only in the gloss of Dr. Priestley : it is utterly irreconcilable with the express statements of the early ecclesiastical writers themselves.

(2.) But Dr. Priestley further asserts : that the ancients sometimes expressly call the Father THE ONLY TRUE GOD *exclusively* of the Son.

With respect to the simple fact, that, adopting the words of Christ himself, they sometimes call the Father THE ONLY TRUE GOD : *that* fact, as we may readily suppose, is indisputable<sup>1</sup>.

But, with respect to the alleged circumstance of their *so* styling him *exclusively* of the Son : the mode, in which they quoted and understood the language of our Lord when he thus denominated his heavenly Father, actually conveys an idea, *precisely the reverse* of that gratuitously suggested by Dr. Priestley.

GOD, *when written with the article*, says Origen, *imports* HIM WHO IS GOD OF HIMSELF *or* GOD THE FATHER. *Wherefore also our Saviour, in his prayer to the Father, says : That they may know thee* THE ONLY TRUE GOD. *But every thing, that, beside HIM WHO IS GOD OF HIMSELF, becomes God by a participation of his divinity, is not GOD written with the article or GOD OF HIMSELF : but may more properly be called*

<sup>1</sup> John xvii. 3.

GOD *simply*, or GOD *as written without the article*; that is to say, GOD, in the sense of GOD EMANATING FROM GOD. Wherefore, he who was born before all creation, inasmuch as he was first in regard to his being with God, having from God's divinity derived divinity to himself, is more honourable than those others who beside him are styled gods, of whom God is the God: as it is said; *The Lord, the God of gods, hath spoken* <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Αὐτόθεος ὁ Θεός ἐστι· Διόπερ καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ φησὶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα εὐχῇ· Ἴνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν. Πᾶν δὲ τὸ, παρὰ τὸ Αὐτόθεος, μετοχῇ τῆς ἐκείνου θεότητος θεοποιούμενον, οὐχ ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ Θεός κυριώτερον ἂν λεγοίτο. Ὡς πάντως ὁ πρωτόκοκος πάσης κτίσεως, ἅτε πρῶτος τῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, σπάσας τῆς θεότητος εἰς ἑαυτὸν, ἔτι τιμώτερος τοῖς λοιποῖς παρ' αὐτὸν θεοῖς, ὧν ὁ Θεός Θεός ἐστι· κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον· Θεὸς θεῶν Κύριος ἐλάλησε. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 46, 47.

I. It may here be proper to remark: that I am no way concerned with the abstract propriety or impropriety of the primitive explanations of our Lord's phraseology. I adduce them purely in evidence with respect to *an alleged FACT*.

Dr. Priestley says: that *The early ecclesiastical writers call the Father, EXCLUSIVELY of the Son, THE ONLY TRUE GOD*.

Now the primitive explanations, which I adduce, be their abstract merits what they may, distinctly shew: that *The assertion of the Historian is A POSITIVE FALSEHOOD*.

It is for this *sole* purpose, and for *no other*, that such explanations are adduced: and I conceive them to be perfectly effectual.

II. As for the *explanation* given by Origen, it is strictly catholic in its purport and object. For it proceeds upon the sound principle: that, *By his own special prerogative, God the*

*If Christ were only a mere man, reasons Novatian, why did he deliver to us such a rule of faith as this, wherein he says: This is life eternal, that they should know thee THE ONLY TRUE GOD and Jesus*

*Father is alone the Αὐτόθεος or the Πηγὴ Θεότητος; while the Son and the Spirit are severally God, by emanative participation in the deity of the unoriginated Father.*

1. This will equally be the case, whatever becomes of the criticism upon the arthrous term ὁ Θεός and the anarthrous term Θεός.

I have already had occasion to notice it, when pointing out the strange blunder into which Dr. Priestley and other writers of his School have fallen respecting the purport of the present passage and its context (See above, book ii. chap. 4. § II. note): I may now add, that its merits have certainly been overlooked by others of the early ecclesiastical writers. For Justin and Melito and Dionysius of Alexandria all concur in styling Christ ὁ Θεός or *God* with the article: though they all maintained; that the Son emanates from the substance of the Father, as light emanates from the substance of light; and, consequently, that, in point of nature, the Son is true God from true God.

Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 266.

Ὁ Θεός πέπονθεν ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς Ἰσραηλιτιδος. Melit. Fragment. apud Anastas. Hodeg. in Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. i. p. 116.

Ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, Κύριος ὁ Θεός Ἰσραήλ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. Dion. Alex. Oper. p. 248.

2. But the most curious part of the matter remains yet to be told.

In the best of his Works, Origen *himself*, in despite of his own criticism the first hint of which he appears to have taken from his master Clement (See Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii. Oper. p. 460), actually styles the Son τὸν Θεὸν or *God* with the article prefixed.

Ὡς εὐθεώρητον τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Υἱὸν ἔπεμψεν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 323.



*Christ whom thou hast sent? Why spake he thus, if he wished not that he himself also should be deemed God? Why did he add, And Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent; unless he wished his own divinity also to be acknowledged? For, had he meant to say that he was not God, he would have added, And THE MAN Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. But now he has neither made this addition, nor has he described himself to us as a mere man. On the contrary, he has joined himself to God, as wishing by this conjunction to be deemed God: for such indeed he is. We must therefore, according to the prescribed rule, believe, in the Lord THE ONLY TRUE GOD, and consequently in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. For, as we have said, Christ would never have joined himself to the Father, unless he had wished also to be understood as God<sup>1</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> Si homo tantummodo Christus, quare credendi nobis talem regulam posuit, quo diceret: *Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut sciant te unum et verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum? Si nolisset se etiam Deum intelligi, cur addidit; Et quem misisti Jesum Christum; nisi quoniam et Deum accipi voluit? Quoniam, si se Deum nollet intelligi, addidisset: Et quem misisti HOMINEM Jesum Christum. Nunc autem neque addidit, nec se hominem nobis tantummodo Christus tradidit: sed Deo junxit; ut et Deum per hanc conjunctionem, sicut est, intelligi vellet. Est ergo credendum, secundum præscriptam regulam, in Dominum unum verum Deum, et in eum quem misit Jesum Christum consequenter: qui se nequaquam Patri, ut diximus, junxisset, nisi Deum quoque intelligi vellet. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 621, 622.*



*We are not worshippers of stones which possess no sense, says Melito, but of THE ONLY GOD who is before all things and above all things: and we are likewise worshippers of his Christ, truly, before the worlds, God the Word*<sup>1</sup>.

In addition to these early writers, it were easy to cite Gregory Nazianzen and Athanasius and Epiphanius and Hilary: the three first of whom consider our Lord's expression to be used, as intimating nothing more, than that the Father is the

I subjoin, what Novatian evidently gives, as the true *rationalè* of our Lord's phraseology.

Est ergo Deus Pater omnium institutor et creator, *solus originem nesciens*, invisibilis, immensus, immortalis, æternus, *unus Deus*.—Ex quo, quando ipse voluit, Sermo Filius natus est.—Hic ergo, cum sit genitus a Patre, SEMPER est in Patre. SEMPER autem sic dico, ut non innatum, sed natum, probem. Sed, qui ante omne tempus est, SEMPER in Patre fuisse dicendus est. Nec enim tempus illi assignari potest, qui ante tempus est. SEMPER enim in Patre, ne Pater non SEMPER sit Pater.—Nam, cum id sit principium cæteris quod innatum, *Deus solus Pater* est qui extra originem est. Ex quo hic est qui natus est: dum, qui ex illo nascitur, merito ex eo venit qui originem non habet; principium probans illud esse ex quo ipse est, etiamsi Deus est qui natus est. *Unum tamen Deum* ostendit: quem hic, qui natus est, esse sine origine comprobavit. Est ergo Deus: sed in hoc ipsum genitus, ut esset Deus. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 633, 634.

<sup>1</sup> Οὐκ ἐσμὲν λίθων οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων θεραπευταί, ἀλλὰ μόνου Θεοῦ τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων· καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὄντως Θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸ αἰώνων, ἐσμὲν θρησκευταί. Melit. Apol. in Chron. Pasch. ad A.D. 164, 165. apud Routh. Rel. Sacr. vol. i. p. 112.

only true God, to the exclusion merely of the multitude of false gods, not to the exclusion of the Son and the Holy Ghost; while the last pronounces, that, in the use of the expression, Christ did not mean to separate himself from the verity of the Godhead<sup>1</sup>. But I am *willing* to confine myself, as Dr. Priestley (I conclude), from the nature of his argument, wished that his opponents *should* be confined, to the *antenicene* writers alone.

Now, by these, as the text, containing the expression THE ONLY TRUE GOD, is sometimes *explained*: so, at other times, as by Cyprian for instance, it is merely *quoted* without any explana-

<sup>1</sup> In order that, from a *single* specimen out of many, the reader may judge for himself, how far the Postnicenes, any more than the Antenicenes, support the alleged historical FACT of Dr. Priestley; that *The early christian writers were wont, EXCLUSIVELY of the Son, to call the Father THE ONLY TRUE GOD*: I subjoin gratuitously the explanation given by Hilary.

Debitus Patri a Filio honor redditur, cum dicit: *Te solum verum Deum*. Non tamen se Filius a Dei veritate secernit, cum adjungit: *Et quem misisti Jesum Christum*.

Non habet intervallum confessio credentium: quia, in utroque, spes vitæ est. Nec Deus verus ab eo deficit, qui in conjunctione succedit.

Cum, ergo, dicitur; *Ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum et quem misisti Jesum Christum*: sub hac significatione, id est, MITTENTIS et MISSI, non Patris et Filii veritas et divinitas sub aliqua aut significationis aut dilationis diversitate discernitur; sed ad GIGNENTIS et GENITI confessionem fides religionis instruitur. Hilar. de Trin. lib. iii. § 14. Oper. p. 815.

tion<sup>1</sup>. But, whether formally *explained* or whether simply *quoted*, so far at least as my reading and memory extend, it is NEVER, as I understand Dr. Priestley to allege, quoted for the purpose of scripturally shewing: that *The Father*, EXCLUSIVELY of the Son, is called THE ONLY TRUE GOD; or, in other words, that *The Father* is so called THE ONLY TRUE GOD, as to intimate that the Son is NOT *truly God*. On the contrary, as we have seen, both Origen and Novatian and Melito adduce the expression, in avowed union with a distinct statement: that *Christ is truly God the Word*; that *he is not a mere man*; but that *he is God also as well as the Father*, though (as the Catholic Church has ever held) God begotten of the Father before all worlds, or (as Origen speaks) God by a derivation of deity from him who alone is the fountain of deity or God of himself.

2. Thus interpreted the ancients: yet, respecting their plan of interpretation, thus speaks a modern ecclesiastical historian.

*We find, upon all occasions, that the early christian writers speak of the Father as superior to the Son: and, in general, they give him the title of GOD, as DISTINGUISHED from the Son; and sometimes they expressly call him, EXCLUSIVELY of the Son, THE*

<sup>1</sup> Cyprian. adv. Jud. lib. ii. § 1. Oper. vol. i. p. 31. Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. p. 151. Cyprian. de Exhort. Martyr. § 2. p. 172. Cyprian. ad Demet. p. 195. Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 205.



ONLY TRUE GOD : a phraseology, which does not at all accord with the idea of the perfect equality of all the persons in the Trinity.

To convey a distinct impression of the amount of Dr. Priestley's historical accuracy, this naked repetition of his own statement is, I conceive, amply sufficient.

With too much reason, as Bishop Horsley observes, Mr. Badcock complained : that DR. PRIESTLEY WROTE FOR THE UNLEARNED <sup>1</sup>.

The ground of such a complaint will readily be understood.

When an historian is strictly and conscientiously *correct* : to write for the unlearned is praiseworthy, rather than blameable.

But, when, through an intemperate desire of promoting some favourite object, an historian is *incorrect* : nothing, surely, can be more mischievous ; for, by such practices, to hundreds and to thousands, who possess not the means of detecting his inaccuracy, the very fountains of truth itself are miserably poisoned.

On the authority of Dr. Priestley, many persons, it can scarcely be doubted, of this description, who have rashly adopted the Antitrinitarian System as the indisputable System of the primitive Church ere it was corrupted by Justin and Irenæus and Tertullian, believe, with the full as-

<sup>1</sup> Bp. Horsley's Letters to Dr. Priestley, lett. x. p. 184.



surance of implicit credulity : that *The early ecclesiastical writers, when as yet the infant doctrine of the Trinity had not attained its present gigantic stature, habitually denominate the Father* THE ONLY TRUE GOD, *for the express and avowed purpose of* MARKING THEIR DISBELIEF IN THE PROPER DIVINITY OF THE SON.

Such, if words possess any force and distinctness, is the idea clearly and necessarily inculcated by the statement, which, for the information of the less learned, Dr. Priestley has thought it expedient to propound.

According to his own estimate of the duties of a faithful historian ; whose business is, not to decide upon the abstract propriety or impropriety of theological expositions, but honestly to set forth simple FACTS as he finds them recorded : he conceives himself to be fully warranted in asserting the specific circumstance ; that *The early christian writers sometimes expressly call the Father,* EXCLUSIVELY *of the Son,* THE ONLY TRUE GOD.

## CHAPTER X.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT THE ANTENICENE FATHERS, IN THE COURSE OF ONLY A GRADUAL CORRUPTION, DID NOT ASCRIBE PROPER DIVINITY TO THE SON.

---

IN his *History of Early Opinions*, Dr. Priestley devotes one chapter of his Work to the doctrine of the Antenicene Writers and another chapter to the doctrine of the Postnicene Writers.

The object of the former chapter is to prove; that *All the Antenicene Writers held the doctrine of THE SON'S INFERIORITY TO THE FATHER*: the object of the latter chapter is to shew; that *All the Postnicene Writers held the opposite doctrine of THE SON'S EQUALITY TO THE FATHER*.

If we ask, how these two widely different objects are to be accomplished: it may be replied; that, on the strictly eclectic plan of investigation adopted by Dr. Priestley, nothing is more easy.

From the Antenicene Writers, let no passages be quoted, save only those which treat of the Son's acknowledged inferiority to the Father, in the three respects of emanative gradation and ecu-

menical office and hypostatical inhumanitation; while, from the Postnicene Writers, let no passages be quoted, save only those which treat of the Son's perfect equality to the Father, in regard to substance or essence or substratum or proper divine nature: and, doubtless, to the full satisfaction of those who never inquire for themselves, the business will be happily accomplished<sup>1</sup>.

The speculation of Mr. Lindsey, though not formally supported by the apparatus of select evidence, is similar to that of Dr. Priestley.

He teaches us: that *The Fathers of the three first centuries, and with them the whole body of Christians until the time of the first Nicene Council, were generally what he calls UNITARIANS.* And, by this term, he explains himself to mean: either strict Humanitarians, who altogether denied the godhead of Christ, and who pronounced him to be a mere man; or religionists, who, according to the theory which was afterward denominated *Arianism*, conceded to him a sort of secondary godhead, by admitting that he was the greatest and earliest of all created beings, and by maintaining that through him the Deity subsequently created the entire Universe<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Priestley's Hist. of Early Opin. book ii. chap. 4, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Lindsey's Apol. p. 23, 24. I have already noticed the singular phraseology of Mr. Lindsey, where he teaches us: that *ALL Christian People, for upward of three hundred years after Christ till the Council of Nice, were GENERALLY Unitarians.*

By these statements, the matter is obviously brought to a mere question of HISTORICAL FACT.

Dr. Priestley and Mr. Lindsey assert: that *None of the Antenicene Writers acknowledged THE PROPER DIVINITY of Christ.*

Such being the case, nothing more is requisite, than simply to hear the precise declarations of those very Writers themselves.

I. It will not, I presume, be controverted; that Jehovah, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, is, in the strictest and highest sense of the word, THE TRUE GOD: for, assuredly, we shall find it impossible to deny his *proper divinity*, without running counter to the very plainest language of Holy Scripture.

See above, book ii. chap. 6. note in init. His meaning I *suppose* to be: that NONE of the Antenicene Christians acknowledged the proper divinity of Christ; that they ALL, without exception, deemed him a mere creature; and that they were UNIVER-SALLY ignorant of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was the original invention of the first Council of Nice. Whether he wished to *qualify* this large assertion by the use of the word GENERALLY, I will not undertake positively to determine. If *such* were his intention, the doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity must clearly have existed *before* the session of the Council of Nice, and therefore could not have been the *invention* of that Council: which yet I understand Mr. Lindsey to assert. But, whatever may be his *precise* meaning, he assures us; that, *upon inquiry, it will be found undeniably true*: and, for the better promotion of sound historical knowledge, he deems it absolutely necessary that the less learned should be told; that ALL *Antenicene Christians were GENERALLY Unitarians.*



Neither yet, I presume, will it be controverted : that the Antenicene Fathers well knew the real character of the JEHOVAH of the Patriarchal and Levitical Churches ; and that they could not doubt, whether *proper essential divinity* ought to be ascribed to that ineffably glorious Subsistence.

1. Under these circumstances, if the Antenicene Fathers pronounced Christ, to be the Lord of Hosts, and to be the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob : they *must* plainly have ascribed to him *proper essential divinity*.

Nor, so far as I can judge, since the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob is always denominated JEHOVAH, is it possible to evade this conclusion, save by a flat denial that the JEHOVAH of the Patriarchal and Levitical Churches is very and eternal God.

Now, of Justin Martyr, and of Irenèus, and of Tertullian, and of Novatian, and of Hippolytus, and of Theophilus of Antioch, and of Clement of Alexandria, and of Cyprian, and of Dionysius of Alexandria, it is the constant and unvarying language : that Christ, as the Son or Word of God, is the Lord of hosts and the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob ; who, under the character of JEHOVAH *sent by* JEHOVAH (as Zechariah speaks), conversed with Adam and Noah and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, confounded the rebellious builders of Babel, rained down fire from JEHOVAH out of heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrha, talked with

Moses from the bush, accompanied the Israelites in the pillar of fire, and in short was the Being who appeared under a human form to the Patriarchs and whom the Patriarchs always worshipped as THE SUPREME DIVINITY <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Κατ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τοῦ καιροῦ ὅτε Μωσῆς ἐκελεύσθη κατελθὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν ἐκεῖ λαὸν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ποιμαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀρράβικῃ γῆ πρόβατα τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς θείου, ἐν ἰδέᾳ πυρὸς ἐκ βάρου προσωμίλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστός.— Καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Ὄν, Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ, Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ, Θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 74, 75.

Τὰ νῦν δὲ συγχωρήσεις μοι πρῶτον ἐπιμνησθῆναι ὧν περ βούλομαι προφητειῶν, εἰς ἐπίδειξιν, ὅτι καὶ Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ Χριστός. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 197.

Ὅτι γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἦν, ὁ Μωσεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπλῶς πατριάρχαις φανείς καὶ ὁμιλήσας, τῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς θελήματι ὑπηρετῶν, ἀπέδειξα· ὃς καὶ ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι διὰ τῆς παρθένου Μαρίας ἦλθε, καὶ ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, ἐρῶ. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 266. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 214, 243, 278—280.

Vere igitur cum Pater sit Dominus, et Filius vere sit Dominus, merito Spiritus Sanctus DOMINI appellatione signavit eos. Et iterum, in eversione Sodomitarum, Scriptura ait: *Et pluit DOMINUS super Sodomam et Gomorrham ignem et sulphur a DOMINO de cælo.* Filium enim hic significat, qui et Abrahæ conloquutus sit, et a Patre accepisse potestatem ad judicandum Sodomitas propter iniquitatem eorum. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 6.

*Si enim crederetis Moysi, crederetis et mihi:* de me enim ille scripsit. Scilicet quod inseminatus est ubique in Scripturis ejus Filius Dei, aliquando quidem cum Abraham loquens, aliquando cum eodem comesurus, aliquando autem Sodomitis inducens judicium: et rursus cum videtur et in viam dirigit Jacob, et de rubo loquitur cum Moyse. Et non est numerum dicere, in quibus a Moyse ostenditur Filius Dei. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iv. c. 23.

Nor was this language any way peculiar to a few innovating speculatists merely, who delighted to expatiate in wild unauthorised phantasies.

Propter hoc Judæi excesserunt a Deo, Verbum Dei non recipientes ; sed putantes, per seipsum Patrem, sine Verbo, id est sine Filio, posse cognoscere Deum : nescientes eum, qui in figura loquutus est humana ad Abraham et Aaron, et ad Moysem dicentem ; *Videns vidi vexationem populi mei in Ægypto, et descendi liberare eos.* Hic enim Filius, qui et Verbum Dei. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 17.

Verbum ait de rubo ad Moysem : *Ego autem scio, quoniam non dimittet vos Pharaon rex Ægypti abire, nisi cum manu valida.* Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 48.

Filius itaque est, qui ab initio turrim superbissimam elidens linguasque disperdens, orbem totum aquarum violentia puniens, pluens super Sodomam et Gomorrhæam ignem et sulphurem Deus a Deo. Ipse enim et ad humana semper colloquia descendit, ab Adam usque ad patriarchas et prophetas :—et Deus in terris cum hominibus conversari non alius, quam Sermo qui caro erat futurus. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 11. Oper. p. 417.

Quid si idem Moyses ubique introducit Deum Patrem,—omnia continentem et cuncta complexum, ut merito nec descendat nec ascendat :—et tamen nihilominus introducit Deum descendentem ad turrem quam ædificabant filii hominum, considerare quærentem, et dicentem ; *Venite, et mox descendamus et confundamus illic ipsorum linguas.* Quem volunt hic Deum descendisse ad turrem illam ? Deum Patrem ?—Neque ergo Pater descendit.—Superest ergo, ut ille descenderit, de quo Apostolus Paulus ; *Qui descendit, ipse est qui ascendit super omnes coelos, ut impleret omnia :* hoc est Dei Filius, Dei Verbum. *Verbum autem Dei caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis :* hic erit Christus. Deus ergo pronunciabitur Christus. Ecce idem Moyses refert alio in loco, quod Abrahæ visus sit Deus. Atquin idem Moyses audit a Deo, quod *nemo hominum Deum*



Both in and before the time of Tertullian, the doctrine, conveyed by it, was the avowed doctrine

*videat, et vivat.* Si videri non potest Deus, quomodo visus est Deus?—Non utique Scriptura mentitur. Ergo vere visus est Deus. Ex quo intelligi potest, quod non Pater visus sit, qui nunquam visus est: sed Filius, qui et descendere solitus est, et videri quod descenderit. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 623, 624. Vide etiam Ibid. p. 624—628.

Κύριος δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ Υἱὸς, ὃς οὐ πεποίηκεν ἁμαρτίαν. Hippol. Comment. in Gen. Oper. vol. ii. p. 24.

Τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τὴν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ὡς διὰ τοῦ Σαμουήλ ἀνακαλῶν, καὶ ἐπιστρέφων τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τῶν ἀλλοφύλων· τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ἐν ἧ ἑνσαρκος παρῆν τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου ἄνθρωπον ἀναλαβόν. Hippol. Fragm. in 1 Sam. i. Oper. vol. i. p. 267.

Ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου τῶν ὄλων, παρεγίνετο εἰς τὸν παράδεισον ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὠμίλει τῷ Ἀδάμ. Theoph. Antioch. ad Autol. lib. ii. c. 22. p. 365.

Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος παιδαγωγὸς, ἅγιος Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ πάσης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καθηγεμὸν Λόγος· αὐτὸς ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Θεὸς ἐστὶ παιδαγωγός. Λέγει δέ που, διὰ τῆς ψδῆς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον εἰς αὐτόν· Αὐτάρκησε τὸν λαὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· Κύριος μόνος ἦγεν αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν θεὸς ἀλλότριος. Σαφῶς, οἶμαι, τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἐπιδείκνυται ἡ γραφή, τὴν ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ διηγουμένη. Πάλιν δὲ, ὅπου λέγῃ διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου προσώπου, ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ παιδαγωγόν· Ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου, ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. Τίς οὖν ἔχει ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἁγίου εἶσω τε καὶ ἔξω; Οὐχὶ ὁ παιδαγωγός; Οὗτος ὠφθῆ τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Θεός σου, εὐαρέσκει ἐνώπιόν μου.—Τοῦ δὲ Ἰακώβ ἐναργέστατα παιδαγωγὸς εἶναι φαίνεται· λέγει γοῦν αὐτῷ· Ἴδου ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ, διαφυλάσσω σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πάσῃ, οὗ ἂν πορευθῆς.—Τούτῳ δὲ καὶ συμπαλαίειν λέγεται. Ὑπελείφθη δέ, φησιν, Ἰακώβ μόνος· καὶ ἐπάλαιεν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ παιδαγωγός, μέχρι πρῶτ.—Ὁ Λόγος ἦν ὁ ἀλείπτῃς ἅμα τῷ Ἰακώβ καὶ παιδαγωγός



of the Church Catholic. For, in an ancient symbol preserved by that Father, one of the articles is: that *The Word or the Son of God, who afterward became incarnate from the Virgin Mary, variously appeared to the Patriarchs*<sup>1</sup>.

But the person, who thus variously appeared to the Patriarchs, always styled himself *JEHOVAH*:

τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος.—Πλὴν ἀλλὰ ὁ Ἰακώβ ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου, Εἶδος Θεοῦ· Εἶδον γάρ, φησιν, Θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον· καὶ ἐσώθη μου ἡ ψυχή. Πρόσωπον δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος, ᾧ φωτίζεται ὁ Θεὸς καὶ γνωρίζεται. Τότε καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπωνόμασται, ὅτε εἶδε τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Κύριον. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Λόγος, ὁ παιδαγωγός.—Αὐτὸς γοῦν οὗτος καὶ τὸν Μωσέα διδάσκει παιδαγωγεῖν· λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος· Εἴτις ἡμάρτηκεν ἐνώπιόν μου, ἐξαλείφω αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βίβλου μου· νυνὶ δὲ βιάδιζε, καὶ ὀδήγησον τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν εἶπόν σοι. Ἐνταῦθα διδάσκαλός ἐστι παιδαγωγίας· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς, διὰ μὲν Μωσέως, παιδαγωγὸς ὁ Κύριος τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ παλαιοῦ· δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ, τοῦ νέου καθηγεμῶν λαοῦ, πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 7. Oper. p. 109, 110, 111.

Quod Deus Christus. In Genesi: *Dixit autem Deus ad Jacob: Exsurge, et ascende in locum Bethel, et habita illic, et fac illic altare Deo qui tibi apparuit cum fugeres a facie Esau fratris tui.* Cyprian. adv. Jud. lib. ii. § 6. Oper. vol. i. p. 34.

Ἄλλ', ἀναστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ Κύριος τοὺς διασπαρέντας ᾧκοδόμησεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ναὸν ἅγιον. Dionys. Alex. adv. Paul. Samosat. quæst. iii. Oper. p. 221.

Ἐφύτευσαν ὡτίον αἱ χεῖρες τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς. Dionys. Alex. adv. Paul. Samosat. quæst. iv. Oper. p. 227.

<sup>1</sup> Id Verbum Filius ejus appellatum: ejus in nomine Dei variè visum patriarchis. Symbol. vetust. apud Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. Oper. p. 100.

and, under that specific character of THE SELF-EXISTENT, always received divine adoration.

Therefore, a profession of belief, that *The Son variously appeared to the Patriarchs*, is equivalent to a profession of belief: that *The Son is JEHOVAH*; or that *Christ possesses true and proper divinity*.

2. It will, of course, be observed, agreeably to the fixed plan of the present discussion: that the question before us is not, *Whether such an opinion be well founded or ill founded*.

At present, we have nothing to do, with the abstract truth, or with the abstract falsehood, of *an opinion*.

We are solely concerned with AN HISTORICAL FACT.

Now the common ASSERTION of Dr. Priestley and Mr. Lindsey is: that *None of the Antenicene Fathers ascribed to Christ proper and essential divinity*.

But the FACT is: that, *Whether abstractedly right or abstractedly wrong in their opinion, the Antenicene Fathers believed Christ, by virtue of his being the second person of the Trinity incarnate from the Virgin Mary, to be the JEHOVAH of the Patriarchal and Levitical Churches; who was the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and who in old times variously appeared to the Patriarchs*.

Such being the case, we may, if we please, think the Antenicenes quite mistaken in their *opinion*: but still the naked HISTORICAL FACT, that

*They held such an opinion*, will obviously remain altogether unaffected by any estimate of their theology.

II. Dr. Priestley, however, teaches us: that, *Respecting the nature of Christ, the true point or touchstone of difference, between the Antenicenes and the Postnicenes, is the doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY.*

If the Father and the Son be CONSUBSTANTIAL, they clearly, he admits, must be PHYSICALLY OR ESSENTIALLY EQUAL.

On the basis, therefore, of CONSUBSTANTIALITY, he argues, rests THE ESSENTIAL OR PHYSICAL EQUALITY of the Father and the Son.

Now, both the phrase and the tenet of CONSUBSTANTIALITY *commenced*, he asserts, with the first Council of Nice.

Hence, provided his assertion be accurate, the obvious and indeed necessary consequence is: that *The Postnicenes held the CONSUBSTANTIALITY of the Father and the Son, and therefore held also their ESSENTIAL OR PHYSICAL EQUALITY; while The Antenicenes denied their CONSUBSTANTIALITY, and therefore denied their ESSENTIAL OR PHYSICAL EQUALITY also.*

Such, when reduced into few words, is the vital principle of all Dr. Priestley's long discussion<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Yet, by a singular sort of fatality, even the basis of this very argument the perpetually stumbling historian is unable to lay down with accuracy.

To this principle, therefore, viewed as resting upon AN ALLEGED HISTORICAL FACT, it will now

*By all the postnicene writers* (I give his own precise words), *the Son was pronounced to be OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE with the Father, and THEREFORE equal to him in ALL respects.*

Where did Dr. Priestley find *any* postnicene writer maintaining the equality of the Son to the Father in ALL respects, as THE NECESSARY RESULT of their CONSUBSTANTIALITY ?

The diligent peruser of the old ecclesiastics will readily believe, that the Historian has produced no *authority* to that purpose : and I consider it not as the least impeachment of Dr. Priestley's reading, if I venture to say, that such an authority came not within its extent.

In truth, the assertion of the primeval doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY led the Postnicenes, like their predecessors the Antenicenes, to maintain, not *The equality of the Son to the Father in ALL respects*, but *The equality of the Son to the Father in nature and duration ONLY.*

They taught, as the Antenicenes had taught before them : that, *In the Holy Trinity, there is an emanative gradation and an official economy.*

THEREFORE they likewise taught : that, *In point of order and office and inhumanitation, the Son is not EQUAL, but INFERIOR to the Father.*

Yet, with a most harmonious disregard both of historical fact and of conclusive reasoning, does the strangely inaccurate author now before us make *An equality in ALL respects* to be THE NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE of the doctrine of *Consubstantiality.*

He has evidently taken up the same crude notion in regard to the doctrine held by modern Trinitarians : for he talks, as we have seen, of *the phraseology of the early Christian Writers not at all according with the idea of THE PERFECT EQUALITY of all the persons in the Trinity.* Hist. of Corrupt. part i. sect. 3. Works, vol. v. p. 36.



be proper that we should carefully direct our attention.

By the confession of Dr. Priestley himself: *They, who hold the CONSUBSTANTIALITY of the Father and the Son, inevitably hold also the PHYSICAL OR ESSENTIAL EQUALITY of the Father and the Son.*

Therefore, as he fully admits: *They, who hold the CONSUBSTANTIALITY, and thence also the PHYSICAL OR ESSENTIAL EQUALITY, of the Father and the Son, attribute to the Son, by a necessary consequence, REAL AND PROPER DIVINITY.*

So stands the criterion, as propounded by Dr. Priestley's own proper hand.

Hence we have simply to inquire into the truth of THE ALLEGED HISTORICAL FACT: that *The Antenicene Writers unanimously denied, and in reality were altogether unacquainted with, the postnicene doctrine of the Son's CONSUBSTANTIALITY with the Father.*

1. From the circumstance of the first Nicene Council having, for the purpose of frustrating the

Verily it were strange, if their phraseology *did* accord with a speculation, which, at *no* time, either *past* or *present*, either *antenicene* or *postnicene*, was ever entertained by the Church Catholic.

Where did Dr. Priestley ever find a well instructed Trinitarian, holding THE PERFECT EQUALITY, or (as he otherwise expresses it) THE EQUALITY IN ALL RESPECTS, of the three persons in the Trinity?

Never, surely, did a theologian betray such a complete *Ignoratio Elenchi*.

evasions of the Arians, introduced into their Creed the word *CONSUBSTANTIAL* <sup>1</sup>; Dr. Priestley, with his characteristic rapidity of decision, and without the labour of any further examination, has evidently taken it for granted, both that the word *CONSUBSTANTIAL* itself was *first* employed, and that the involved doctrine of *CONSUBSTANTIALITY* was *first* introduced, by that grievously innovating Synod.

Yet, had the historian submitted to the trouble of reading the Epistle of Athanasius, respecting the Decrees of the first Nicene Council against the heresy of Arius; a production, assuredly, of no *very* portentous magnitude: he would have there found an express statement; that the Fathers of that great Assembly did not *invent* either the term or the doctrine, but that they *received* both the one and the other from yet older theologians their ecclesiastical predecessors <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. ὁμοούσιος.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντες, ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν διάνοιαν, τοιαύτας καὶ τὰς λέξεις (scil. οὐσία et ὁμοούσιος) ἔγραψαν· ὅτι δὲ οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς πλάσαντες ἐπενόησαν ταύτας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο προφασίζονται, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν παραλαβόντες εἰρήκασι, φέρε καὶ τοῦτο διελέγξωμεν. Athan. Epist. de Synod. Nic. cont. hæc. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 420.

See also Athan. Epist. ad Afric. Oper. vol. i. p. 721, 723, 724: where he adduces the similar testimony of Eusebius. Καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινὰς λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφέας ἔγνωμεν, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ θεότητος, τῷ τοῦ ὁμοούσιου χρησαμένους ὀνόματι.

The same testimony of Eusebius to the antenicene use of

Of these predecessors, giving their own precise words in proof of his assertion, Athanasius mentions Theognostus and Dionysius of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>. He also, to the same effect, mentions the labour-loving Origen: and, though the passages which he cites from that author contain not the precise word *Usia*, but (so far as the first-cited passage is concerned) only the word *Hypostasis* which by the earlier writers is used in the sense of *Substance* as well as in the sense of *Person*; yet his accuracy, the word *ὁμοούσιος*, is adduced also by Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8. p. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Θεόγνωστος μὲν, ἀνὴρ λόγιος, οὐ παρητήσατο τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἰπεῖν· γράφων γὰρ περὶ Υἱοῦ, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων, οὕτως εἶρηκεν.

Οὐκ ἔξωθέν τις ἐστὶν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐσία, οὐδὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπεισέχθη· ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἔφν· ὡς, τοῦ φωτὸς, τὸ ἀπαύγασμα· ὡς, ὕδατος, ἀτμῖς. Οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, οὔτε ἡ ἀτμῖς, αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν, ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος· οὔτε ἀλλότριον. Ἄλλὰ ἀπόρροια τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας· οὐ μερισμὸν ὑπομεινάσης τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας. Ὡς γὰρ μένων ὁ ἥλιος ὁ αὐτὸς οὐ μειοῦται ταῖς ἐκχεομέναις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνγαῖς, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀλλοίωσιν ὑπέμεινεν, εἰκόνα ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσα τὸν Υἱόν.

Διονύσιος δὲ, ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, — ἐπειδὴ ὑπενοήθη ὡς ποίημα καὶ γεννητὸν λέγων τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, γράφει πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης, ἀπολογούμενος συκοφαντίαν εἶναι ταύτην κατ' αὐτοῦ. Μῆτε γὰρ ποιητὸν εἰρηκέναι τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν, διεβεβαίωσατο. Ἔχει δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ λέξις οὕτως.—

Οὐ ποίημα οὐδὲ κτίσμα ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος· ἀλλὰ ἴδιον τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας γέννημα ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστιν. Athan. Epist. Oper. vol. i. p. 420, 421.



not only in regard to the doctrine of Consubstantiality, but even in regard to the very word *Usia* itself, is fully confirmed by the yet existing Works of the learned Catechist <sup>1</sup>.

To these may be added Tertullian and Justin and Novatian and Irenæus : all of whom in so many words maintain, that *The SUBSTANCE of God the Son is identical with the SUBSTANCE of God the Father* <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ δὲ τοῦ αἰδιώως συνεῖναι τὸν Λόγον τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ μὴ ἑτέρας οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἴδιον αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὡς εἰρήκασιν οἱ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐξέστω πάλιν ὑμᾶς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ παρὰ τοῦ φιλοπόνοῦ Ὁριγένους. Athan. Epist. Oper. vol. i. p. 423.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ σῶμα θνητὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀναλαβὼν, ὁ ἀθάνατος Θεὸς Λόγος δοκεῖ τῷ Κέλσῳ ἀλλάττεσθαι καὶ μεταλλάττεσθαι· μανθανέτω, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος, τῇ οὐσίᾳ μένων Λόγος, οὐδὲν μὲν πάσχει ὧν πάσχει τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡ ψυχὴ· συγκαταβαίνων δ' ἐσθ' ὅτε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ αὐτοῦ μαρμαρυγὰς καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς θεότητος βλέπειν, οἷον ἐὶ σὰρξ γίνεται, σωματικῶς λαλούμενος. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv. p. 170.

Communione substantiæ esse Filio cum Patre. Orig. Comment. in Epist. ad Hebr. Oper. vol. iv. p. 697. Edit. Benedict. Paris. 1733.

<sup>2</sup> Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Tres autem, non statu, sed gradu ; nec substantia, sed forma ; nec potestate, sed specie : unius autem substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis : quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et formæ et species, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, deputantur. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 2. Oper. p. 406.

*Ego et Pater unum sumus* : ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. Ibid. § 15. p. 425.

Duæ substantiæ censeantur in Christo Jesu, divina et humana. Ibid. § 17. p. 429.



Nor, in truth, was either the term or the doctrine any way peculiar to a few mere individuals: though, of those individuals, quite sufficient have been adduced to shew, in opposition to the crude phantasy of Dr. Priestley; that *Both the word CONSUBSTANTIAL and the involved doctrine of CONSUB-*

Τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην γεγεννησθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, δυνάμει καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν, ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας, ὅποια τὰ ἄλλα πάντα μεριζόμενα καὶ τεμνόμενα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὶν ἅ καὶ πρὶν τμηθῆναι· καὶ, παραδείγματος χάριν, παρελήφειν τὰ ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀναπτόμενα πυρὰ ἕτερα ὀρῶμεν, οὐδὲν ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου ἐξ οὗ ἀναφθῆναι πολλὰ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ ταυτοῦ μένοντος. Καὶ νῦν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τούτου ἐρῶ. "Ὅταν λέγῃ, Ἐβρεξε Κύριος πῦρ παρὰ Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· δύο ὄντας ἀριθμῷ μὴνύει ὁ λόγος. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 281.

Sermo Filius—in substantia prolatae a Deo virtutis agnoscitur. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 633.

Unus Deus ostenditur verus et æternus Pater, a quo solo hæc vis divinitatis emissa, etiam in Filium tradita et directa rursum per substantiæ communionem, ad Patrem revolvitur. Ibid. p. 634.

Hæc autem scripta sunt, ut credatis, quoniam Jesus est Christus Filius Dei: providens has blasphemias regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum. Iren. adv. hæc. lib. iii. c. 18. p. 204.

Diligenter igitur significavit Spiritus Sanctus, per ea quæ dicta sunt, generationem ejus quæ ex virgine, et substantiam quoniam Deus: *Emanuel* enim nomen hoc significat. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 26. p. 217.

Neque ab altero Deo dicere prophetas, nisi a Patre ejus; neque ab aliqua alia substantia, sed ab uno et eodem Patre. Ibid. lib. iv. c. 70. p. 301.

STANTIALITY were familiar to the Church Catholic long before the days of the first Nicene Council. The very remarkable Ecthesis of the Council of Antioch, which, in the year 269 or fifty six years anterior to the Council of Nice, sat to condemn the heresy of Paul of Samosata, still remains to demonstrate, if any further demonstration were necessary, the gross inaccuracy of the historian in asserting: that *The Antenicene Writers were ignorant of the doctrine of the Son's CONSUBSTANTIALITY with the Father*; and that *The occurrence of such doctrine will be found exclusively in the later productions of the Postnicene Writers*. Under almost every conceivable turn of phraseology, this Ecthesis, again and again, distinctly and specifically, asserts: that *The Son, in respect to his human nature, is OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE with man; while, in respect to his divine nature, he is OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE with God*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθέντα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκ παρθένου κατὰ σάρκα τεχθέντα, ἕν πρόσωπον σύνθετον ἐκ θεότητος οὐρανίου καὶ ἀνθρωπείας σαρκός· καὶ, καθὸ ἄνθρωπος, ἕν· καὶ ὅλον Θεόν, καὶ ὅλον ἄνθρωπον· ὅλον Θεὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καθὸ σῶμα Θεόν· καὶ ὅλον ἄνθρωπον μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα ἄνθρωπον· οὕτως ὅλον προσκυνητὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα προσκυνητόν· ὅλον προσκυνοῦντα καὶ μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα προσκυνοῦντα· ὅλον ἄκτιστον καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἄκτιστον· ὅλον πλαστὸν καὶ μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα πλαστόν· ὅλον ὁμοούσιον Θεῷ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ· ὡσπερ

2. As the very term **CONSUBSTANTIAL** is used, and as the involved doctrine of **CONSUBSTANTIALITY** is directly asserted, by the Antenicene Writers : so their favourite mode of illustration removes all doubt, in regard to their real sentiments on the subject.

(1.) For the purpose of shewing and explaining the mutual physical relation of the three persons in the Trinity, they perpetually employ the several images of **A FOUNTAIN** and **A TREE** and **THE SUN**.

When the first of these illustrative images is used : the Father is exemplified by the Fountain ; the Son, by the River proceeding from the Fountain ; and the Spirit, by a Runlet or Stream issuing ultimately from the Fountain through the primary intervention of the River.

When the second of them is used : the Father is exemplified by the Root of the Tree ; the Son, by the Trunk ; and the Spirit, by the Fruit.

*οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶν ὁμοούσιος, καίτοι γέ μετὰ τῆς θεότητος ὦν κατὰ σάρκα ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν· καὶ γὰρ, ὅταν λέγωμεν αὐτὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα Θεῶ ὁμοούσιον, οὐ λέγομεν κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοούσιον· καὶ πάλιν, ὅταν κηρύσσομεν αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοούσιον, οὐ κηρύσσομεν αὐτὸν κατὰ σάρκα ὁμοούσιον Θεῶ· ὡσπερ γὰρ κατὰ πνεῦμα ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁμοούσιος, ἐπειδὴ Θεῶ ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὁμοούσιος, οὕτως οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρκα ἐστὶ Θεῶ ὁμοούσιος, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὁμοούσιος· ὡσπερ δὲ ταῦτα διήρθρωται καὶ σεσαφήνισται, οὐκ εἰς διαίρεσιν τοῦ ἑνὸς προσώπου τοῦ ἀδιαίρετου, ἀλλ' εἰς δήλωσιν τοῦ ἀσυγχύτου τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀδιαίρετου συνθέσεως πρεσβεύομεν. Ecthes. Antioch. apud Concil. Ephes. par. iii. c. 6. Labb. Concil. vol. iii. p. 979. See below, append. ii. numb. 1.*



When the third of them is used : the Father is exemplified by the Solar Fire ; the Son, by a Ray emanating from it ; and the Spirit, by the Apex of the Ray.

Such are the illustrative images, employed, with singular uniformity, by the successive Antenicene Writers, Justin, Athenagoras, Theognostus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Lactantius : and, since, from generation to generation, they have thus been regularly transmitted as the ordinary common places of Theology ; we cannot reasonably doubt, that they exhibit the unvarying sense of the Catholic Church from the very beginning <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Μαρτύριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὑμῖν, ὧ φίλοι, ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δώσω, ὅτι ἀρχὴν πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ Θεὸς γεγέννηκε δυνάμιν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν, ἣτις καὶ Δόξα Κυρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου καλεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ Υἱὸς, ποτὲ δὲ Σοφία, ποτὲ δὲ Ἄγγελος, ποτὲ δὲ Θεός, ποτὲ δὲ Κύριος καὶ Λόγος.—Ὅποῖον ἐπὶ πυρὸς ὄρωμεν ἄλλο γινόμενον, οὐκ ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου ἐξ οὗ ἢ ἀναψις γέγονεν· ἀλλὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μένοντος, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναφθὲν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὄν φαίνεται, οὐκ ἐλαττώσαν ἐκεῖνο ἐξ οὗ ἀνήφθη. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 221.

Ἄτμητον δὲ καὶ ἀχώριστον τοῦ Πατρὸς ταύτην τὴν δυνάμιν ὑπάρχειν, ὄνπερ τρόπον τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φασὶ φῶς ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι, ἄτμητον καὶ ἀχώριστον, ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 280.

Καὶ τοι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τοῖς ἐκφωνοῦσι προφητικῶς Ἁγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀπόρροϊαν εἶναι φασὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπορρέον καὶ ἐπαναφερόμενον, ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἡλίου. Athenag. Legat. § x. p. 40.

Θεὸν φασὲν, καὶ Υἱὸν τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἁγιον, ἐνούμενα μὲν κατὰ δυνάμιν, τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱὸν, τὸ Πνεῦμα



Accordingly, both the evident principle of the images, and the most remarkable and most gene-

ἔστι Νοῦς, Λόγος, Σοφία, Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἀπόρροια, ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα. Ibid. § xxii. p. 96.

Οὐκ ἔξωθεν τις ἐστὶν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐσία, οὐδὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπεισέχθη· ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἔφν' ὡς, τοῦ φωτὸς, τὸ ἀπαύγασμα· ὡς, ὕδατος, ἀτμῆς. Theognost. Hypot. lib. ii. apud Athan. Epist. de Synod. Nic. cont. hær. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 420.

Prolatum dicimus Filium a Patre, sed non separatum. Protulit enim Deus Sermonem, sicut radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium. Nam et istæ species probolæ sunt earum substantiarum, ex quibus prodeunt. Nec dubitaverim Filium dicere, et *radicis fruticem*, et *fontis fluvium*, et *solis radium*: quia omnis origo parens est; et omne, quod ex origine profertur, progenies est: multo magis Sermo Dei, qui etiam propriè nomen *Filii* accepit. Nec frutex, tamen, a radice, nec fluvius a fonte, nec radius a sole, discernitur. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 6. Oper. p. 409.

Exivit autem a Patre (Filius), ut radius ex sole, ut rivus ex fonte, ut frutex ex semine. Ibid. § 15. Oper. p. 422.

Ἐτερον δὲ λέγων, οὐ δύο Θεοὺς λέγω· ἀλλ', ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, ἢ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἢ ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἀπὸ ἡλίου. Δύναμις γὰρ μία ἢ ἐκ τοῦ παντός· τὸ δὲ πᾶν Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ δύναμις Λόγος. Hippol. cont. Noet. c. xi. Oper. vol. ii. p. 13.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν μαθόντες, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ἀπαύγασμά ἐστι τῆς δόξης, καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀτμῆς μὲν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, ἀπόρροια δὲ τῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος δόξης εὐκρινῆς, ἔτι δὲ ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αἰδίου, καὶ ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ· ἴσμεν, ὅτι οὗτος Υἱὸς ἐξ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐκεῖνος τούτου Πατὴρ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 387.

Ὅντος οὖν αἰωνίου τοῦ Πατρὸς, αἰώνιος ὁ Υἱός ἐστι, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς ὡν· ὄντος γὰρ γόνεως, ἐστὶ καὶ τέκνον· εἰ δὲ μὴ τέκνον εἶη,

rally employed of the images themselves, are of no mere human excogitation ; but have been directly borrowed, by the ancient ecclesiastics, in many instances even to the very precision of actual phraseology, from the inspired volume of Holy Scripture.

For, if the Church Catholic from the beginning taught ; that *The Son is from the Father, as light is from light, or as a ray is from the solar fire* : she only faithfully delivered what she had first received from the Apostle Paul ; that *Christ is the Refulgence from the Glory of God the Father and the very Impress of his Substance* <sup>1</sup>.

(2.) What, then, is the necessary purport of the images, thus perpetually employed, by the Ante-

πῶς καὶ τινος εἶναι δύναται γονεύς ; Ἄλλ' εἰσὶν ἄμφω, καὶ εἰσὶν αἰεὶ. Φωτὸς μὲν οὖν ὄντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἀπαύγασμα. Dionys. Alex. Elench. apud Athan. Epist. de sentent. Dionys. cont. Arian. Oper. vol. i. p. 437.

Cum dicimus *Deum Patrem et Deum Filium*, non diversum dicimus, nec utrumque secernimus. Quia nec Pater sine Filio potest, nec Filius a Patre secerni. Siquidem nec Pater sine Filio nuncupari, nec Filius potest sine Patre generari. Cum igitur et Pater Filium faciat, et Filius fiat : una utrique mens, unus spiritus, una substantia, est. Sed ille quasi exuberans fons est : hic, tanquam defluens ex eo rivus. Ille, tanquam sol : hic, quasi radius a sole porrectus. Qui quoniam summo Patri et fidelis et carus est, non separatur : sicut nec rivus, a fonte ; nec radius, a sole. Quia et aqua fontis in rivo est : et solis lumen, in radio. Lactant. Instit. lib. iv. § 29. p. 446.

<sup>1</sup> Ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. Heb. i. 3. See below, append. ii. numb. 7.

nicene Writers, for the illustration of the mutual physical relation of the three persons in the Trinity?

Truly, even to say nothing of St. Paul's subjoined exposition, *The very Impress of his SUBSTANCE*, it stands out open and conspicuous and self-explained.

Unless we be prepared to *deny*; that a River and a Runlet from a River are OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE with the parent Fountain, or that a Tree and its Fruit are OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE with the Root, or that a Solar Ray and the Apex of that Ray are OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE with the Solar Fire: we must perforce *acknowledge*; that those, who systematically employed such illustrations, could not but have maintained, that the Son and the Spirit are OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE with the Father.

(3.) The doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY, in short, is plainly and inevitably set forth in every illustration of this peculiar description: and, if any doubt on the subject could possibly remain, that doubt would be effectually removed by the express statement of Origen, that these illustrations were *designedly* employed to propound and to elucidate the precise doctrine in question.

*According to the similitude of that exhalation, which proceeds from any corporeal substance, says he: so, likewise, Christ himself, who is the Wisdom, emanates, after the manner of an exhalation, from*



*the virtue of God himself. Thus the Wisdom, proceeding from him, is generated from THE VERY SUBSTANCE of God: and thus, according to the similitude of a corporeal emanation, he is said to be a certain pure and sincere emanation of THE GLORY of the Omnipotent. Now both these comparisons shew most evidently: that there is A COMMUNION OF SUBSTANCE to the Son with the Father. For AN EMANATION SEEMS TO BE OF THE SAME SUBSTANCE WITH THE BODY, FROM WHICH IT IS AN EMANATION*<sup>1</sup>.

(4.) The propounding of this doctrine being thus the avowed object of all such comparisons, we shall readily understand, why the Nicene Fathers, as they borrowed from the long line of their predecessors both the term and the doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY, borrowed also from them, and through them ultimately from St. Paul, one of the most familiar and most regularly established modes of illustrating and enforcing that doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> Christus, qui est Sapientia, secundum similitudinem ejus vaporis qui de substantia aliqua corporea procedit; sic etiam ipse, ut quidam vapor, exoritur de virtute ipsius Dei. Sic et Sapientia, ex ipso procedens, ex ipsa Dei substantia generatur: sic nihilominus, et secundum similitudinem corporalis aporrhœæ, esse dicitur aporrhœa gloriæ Omnipotentis pura quædam et sincera. Quæ utræque similitudines manifestissimè ostendunt communionem substantiæ esse Filio cum Patre. Aporrhœa enim ὁμοούσιος videtur, id est, unius substantiæ, cum illo corpore, ex quo est vel aporrhœa vel vapor. Orig. Comment. in Epist. ad Hebr. Oper. vol. iv. p. 697. Edit. Benedict. Paris. 1733.



When they declared Christ to be, *God from God, true God from true God, begotten not made, being OF ONE SUBSTANCE with the Father*: they failed not to add, after the ancient mode of illustration, and from symbols yet older than their own, LIGHT FROM LIGHT. For it was well known: that the expression, LIGHT FROM LIGHT, was, in the ordinary conventional language of Theology, and on the direct interpretative authority of St. Paul, precisely equivalent to the expression, CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH THE FATHER.

(5.) Illustrations, then; of this description, inevitably and avowedly, set forth the doctrine of MUTUAL CONSUBSTANTIALITY on the part of the three persons of the Holy Trinity: and, in setting forth such doctrine, these illustrations also yet additionally set forth the doctrine of THE ETERNITY both of the Son and of the Spirit.

The argument, implied and involved in them, was, by the ancients, rightly propounded in manner following.

If a Fountain or a Root or the Sun had existed from all eternity: their several effluxes or emanations, though respectively proceeding from them, must *likewise* have existed from all eternity. Because, on the supposition of the eternity of their several originals, there never could have been a time, when such effluxes or emanations did not proceed from them: and, consequently, the procession itself could never have had a commencement.

But God the Father, the declared Fountain or Root or Primal Glory of the Deity, has existed, no doubt, from all eternity.

Therefore the Son and the Spirit, though generated or emanating from the Father, must have existed from all eternity likewise. For, their procession from the substance of the Father never having had a commencement, there never could have been a time when they were not <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπαύγασμα δὲ ὧν φωτὸς αἰδίου, πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς (ὁ Υἱὸς) αἰδιδός ἐστιν. Ὅντος γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, δῆλον ὡς ἐστὶν αἰεὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα· τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ, ὅτι φῶς ἐστι, τῷ καταυγάζειν νοεῖται. Καὶ φῶς οὐ δύναται μὴ φωτίζον εἶναι. Πάλιν γὰρ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὰ παραδείγματα. Εἰ ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος, ἐστὶν αὐγὴ, ἐστὶν ἡμέρα· εἰ τοιοῦτον μηδὲν ἐστὶ πολὺγε δεῖ καὶ παρεῖναι ἥλιον. Εἰ μὲν οὖν αἰδιδός ὁ ἥλιος, ἀπανστος ἂν ἦν καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα. Νῦν δὲ οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν. Ἀρξάμενον τε, ἠρξάτο· καὶ, παυόμενον, παύεται. Ὁ δὲ γε Θεὸς αἰώνιον ἐστὶ φῶς, οὔτε ἀρξάμενον, οὔτε ληξόν ποτε. Οὐκοῦν αἰώνιον πρόκειται. Καὶ σύνεστιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα ἀναρχον καὶ ἀειγενές, προφαινόμενον αὐτοῦ ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ λέγουσα Σοφία· Ἐγὼ ἡμην ἧ προσέχαιρε· καθημέραν δὲ εὐφραινόμενη ἐν προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ. Dionys. Alex. Elench. apud Athan. Epist. de sentent. Dionys. cont. Arian. Oper. vol. i. p. 436, 437.

Ὅτε τὸ, Υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ᾧ αἰεὶ ἐστὶ τὸ σήμερον. Οὐκ ἔνι γὰρ ἐσπέρα Θεοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ πρωΐα. Ἄλλ' ὁ συμπαρακτείνων τῇ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ αἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ ζωῇ, ἔν' οὕτως εἶπω, χρόνος, ἡμέρα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ σήμερον, ἐν ᾧ γεγέννηται ὁ Υἱός· ἀρχῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ οὕτως οὐκ εὐρισκομένης, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. Orig. Comment. in Johan. tom. i. Oper. vol. ii. p. 30, 31. Huet. Rothom. 1668.

Ὅν ἐστὶν αἰδιδός ὁ Θεός. Ὅντος οὖν αἰεὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἔστι καὶ

3. From this statement of the doctrine of the primitive Church, it obviously follows: that *The Antenicens, like the Postnicens, maintained the EQUALITY of the three divine persons in point of their NATURE and DURATION; while yet, like the Postnicens also, they maintained their INEQUALITY in point of their ORDER and OFFICE.*

There is, in short, between the Writers *before* the first Nicene Council and the Writers *after* the first Nicene Council, no difference of opinion.

Each, alike, held the doctrine of THE CONSUBSTANTIALITY OF THE THREE PERSONS IN THE TRINITY. Each, therefore, alike, by the somewhat unguarded concession of Dr. Priestley, held also, of very necessity, the doctrine of THEIR EQUALITY, and thence likewise the doctrine of THE PROPER DIVINITY OF THE SON AND THE SPIRIT.

I myself have done nothing more, than simply detail the *evidence*. The cautious inquirer must form his own judgment respecting the hypothesis, which is the common property of Dr. Priestley and Mr. Lindsey.

III. The objections of the Antitrinitarian School, which respect the broad naked question of HISTORICAL FACT, have now, I trust, been removed: and, with the mere metaphysical subtleties affecting THE DOCTRINE ITSELF, I have plainly, from the

αἰδίως καὶ τὸ τούτου ἀπαύγασμα, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ.  
Athan. Orat. ii. cont. Arian. Oper. vol. i. p. 154.

very nature and plan of my discussion, no sort of concern.

Hence I venture to think : that our testimony, to THE BARE HISTORICAL FACT of *The Apostolical Antiquity and the Apostolical Declaration of the doctrine of THE TRINITY*, remains complete and decisive.

It has been my purpose simply to establish A FACT : precisely as a diligent and impartial historian might set himself, if his evidence were sufficient, to establish any other FACT, with the substantiation of which he should happen to be concerned.

Now, unless I have altogether failed of my purpose, THE HISTORICAL FACT, which has been established, is this : that THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY, VIEWED AS SUBINCLUDING THE DOCTRINE OF THE SON'S PROPER DIVINITY AND HUMAN INCARNATION FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF THE VIRGIN MARY, WAS, FROM THE VERY FIRST, TAUGHT BY THE APOSTLES ; AND WAS, FROM THE VERY FIRST, RECEIVED, ON THEIR ACKNOWLEDGED INSPIRED AUTHORITY, BY THE EARLIEST CHURCH CATHOLIC.

In the abstract ; THE DOCTRINE ITSELF may be very true, or it may be very false : but, in the concrete, THE BARE HISTORICAL FACT remains, in *either* case, unaltered.

If, like Barcochab or Mohammed, Christ and his Apostles were mere uninspired impostors : in *that* case, though we shall still be compelled to



admit THE HISTORICAL FACT that THEY TAUGHT THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY, we shall in no wise be compelled to admit THE ABSTRACT TRUTH OF THE DOCTRINE ITSELF.

But, if Christ and his Apostles were no impostors, and if (on the contrary) they really were what they always claimed to be: in *that* case, we shall be compelled to admit, not only THE HISTORICAL FACT, but THE TRUTH OF THE DOCTRINE ITSELF likewise.

For any professed adoption of a sort of middle course, by which *We avowedly acknowledge the divine mission and the consequent infallible authority of an inspired teacher, and yet reject as untrue the doctrine which under that special character he claims to reveal*, is certainly the very height of hopelessly irrational inconsistency.

The general conclusion, therefore, from my whole argument, will be the following.

WE CANNOT, CONSISTENTLY WITH AN ESTABLISHED HISTORICAL FACT, DENY THE TRUTH OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE CO-EQUAL AND CO-ETERNAL TRINITY, UNLESS AT THE SAME TIME WE BE PREPARED TO DENY ALSO THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY ITSELF.

---

APPENDIX II.

---



## APPENDIX II.

---

### NUMBER I.

---

RESPECTING THE APPROPRIATION OF THE ECTHESIS, PRODUCED IN THE YEAR 431 BY THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS AGAINST NESTORIUS, TO THE COUNCIL OF ANTIOCH WHICH SAT IN THE YEAR 269.

---

IN conjunction with Justin and Irenèus and Tertullian and Novatian and Origen and Theognostus and Dionysius of Alexandria, I have not scrupled to adduce the Ecthesis, produced in the year 431 by the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius, for the purpose of shewing: that *The doctrine of THE SON'S CONSUBSTANTIALITY WITH THE FATHER, instead of having been invented by the Council of Nice which sat in the year 325, had, in truth, even with the use of the very words ΟΥΣΙΑ and ΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΣ or SUBSTANTIA and CONSUBSTANTIALIS themselves, been the established doctrine of the Catholic Church, in regular succession downward, from the time of St. John who died in the year 100. See above, book ii. chap. 10. § II. 1.*

The ground of this adduction was: that *The Ecthesis, although brought forward by the Council of Ephesus in the year 431 against Nestorius, was really, either drawn up by the Antiochian Fathers themselves in the year 264 or 269, or adopted by them as being a then already existing yet more ancient document which fully spoke their own sentiments. Whence, if this chronological arrangement be accurate, the*



Ecthesis may justly be brought forward as an antenicene testimony.

Such an arrangement of the Ecthesis I first met with in Dr. Burton's valuable Work on *The Testimonies of the Antenicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ*, p. 397—399 : but I did not, immediately, feel altogether satisfied as to its propriety.

Under this impression, I freely offered my objections to that gentleman : and, in return, he favoured me with the following statement, which convinced myself, and which he has kindly allowed me to make public.

---

I feel no scruple in saying : that, when I admitted the Creed to which you allude, as a Creed drawn up at Antioch A.D. 269 ; I had some doubts, as to its genuineness. But I thought, that the evidence in its favour preponderated : and, upon reconsidering that evidence in consequence of your letter, my former impression is rather increased than diminished.

The objections against it appear to me to be two, which are stated by yourself.

*The document, which contains the Creed, cites it, as drawn up at Nice and not at Antioch.*

*The Creed contains the word ὁμοούσιος, which the Fathers assembled at Antioch are known to have rejected.*

I. As to the first of these objections, it must be allowed, that the correction of ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ for ἐν Νικαίᾳ rests upon conjecture and inference only : for the Acts of the Council of Ephesus published by Labbe, and also Euthymius Zygabenus (Panopl. Dogmat. p. 141.), expressly ascribe it to the Council of Nice.

These are, I believe, the only ancient authorities, which notice the Creed. But I should wish to know : how many MSS of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus are in existence ; and whether they all read ἐν Νικαίᾳ. For I find : that the

Latin Version of these Acts, published by Peltanus in 1576, ascribes the Creed to the Fathers assembled at *Antioch*.

If it were not for the frequent recurrence of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, perhaps no person would object to the substitution of *Ἀντιοχεία* for *Νικαία*. For there is no other account whatsoever of the Council of Nice having pronounced sentence against Paul of Samosata; who had been dead, when that Council sat, at least fifty years. And, if they had intended to condemn his doctrine: this Creed would hardly have been called *Ἐκθεσις πρὸς Παῦλον Σαμοσατέα*, but rather *Ἐκθεσις πρὸς τοὺς τὰ Παύλου δοξάζοντας*.

I would add, that we have many histories of the Council of Nice: and none of them contain mention of this Creed. If it were really drawn up at Nice, it must have preceded that which was ultimately adopted. Yet, though Eusebius mentions a Creed proposed by himself to the Council, he does not say a word of any other being presented or agreed upon.

II. I now come to the second objection: namely, that *The word ὁμοούσιος, which so frequently occurs in this Creed, was rejected by the Fathers assembled at Antioch.*

This has been often asserted: but there are strong grounds for doubting the truth of the assertion.

1. The two best Dissertations upon the subject, with which I am acquainted, are, by Bishop Bull (*Def. Fid. Nic. ii. 1, 9.*), and in the Preface to the roman edition of Dionysius Alexandrinus.

Bull adopts the notion; that the term was *rejected* by the Council of Antioch: and gives a very satisfactory reason for the circumstance. But, in the Preface to Dionysius, there are some cogent arguments to shew: that the story, of the Antiochene Council having rejected the term, was an entire fable.

The first time, it was ever heard of, was at the Council held at Ancyra about A.D. 358: when the Semiarians, assembled there, put forth a letter, in which the Antiochene Fathers condemned many blasphemous expressions of Paul, and among others the word *ὁμοούσιος* which had been used by him.

This letter has never been produced. By which I mean: not only that it has not come down to our times, but that Athanasius and Hilary had also never seen it.

Hilary, who relates what took place at Ancyra most in detail, merely says as follows.

Secundo quoque ID ADDIDISTIS, quod Patres nostri, cum Paulus Samosatenus hæreticus pronunciatus est, etiam ΗΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ repudiaverunt. Hilar. de Synod. 81.

Athanasius tells us expressly: that *he had never seen this letter, which mentioned the rejection of the term ὁμοούσιος by the Council of Antioch.*

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασι (τὴν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἔσχον ἐγὼ), οἱ τὸν Σαμοσατέα κατακρίναντες ἐπίσκοποι γράφοντες εἰρήκασι, μὴ εἶναι ὁμοούσιον τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ.—Εἰ δὲ δυνατὸν ἦν ἐνπορῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἣν λέγουσιν ἐκείνους γεγραμέναι, ἠγοῦμαι πλείους εὐρεθῆσθαι τὰς προφάσεις. Athan. de Synod. 43, 47.

Basil certainly states it, as a matter of fact: that *the Fathers at Antioch calumniated the phrase as not perspicuous.*

Διέβαλον τὴν λέξιν ὡς οὐκ εὐσημον. Oper. vol. iii. p. 145.

But Basil lived some time later: and we can prove, that he was not well informed about the matters, which took place during the time of Paul of Samosata.

Thus he says: "Α δὲ ἐπιζητεῖς τῶν Διονυσίου, ἦλθε μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ παντὸς πολλά' οὐ πάρεστι δὲ μὴν τὰ βιβλία, διόπερ οὐκ ἀπεστείλαμεν. Epist. ix. p. 91.

So that he confesses himself not well furnished with evidence concerning Dionysius: and he proves this most fully, when he goes on to say; that *Dionysius disapproved of the term ὁμοούσιος.* Now *this* we know to be a mistake; since Athanasius tells us, that *Dionysius used the term:* and, what is more, we have a Work of his remaining which actually contains it. Since, therefore, Basil adopted a false report concerning Dionysius, it was perfectly natural: that he should adopt another and a similar one concerning the Council of Antioch. At least, we cannot attach much credit to his testimony in this particular.

As to Athanasius, he certainly doubted the truth of this



story: and one reason, which he gives, is; that *Both the Dionysii, of Rome and of Alexandria, who lived before the Council of Antioch, used the term ὁμοούσιος.*

In regard to what is said; that *The Antiochene Fathers avoided the term, because it had been used by Paul*: this seems to be a mistatement. Paul only endeavoured to draw the Catholics into a dilemma, by quibbling upon *their* use of the term: and Marius Mercator, who lived A.D. 418, expressly says; that Paul did *not* call the Son consubstantial with the Father. Oper. p. 165.

2. I come now to other evidence, respecting the point at present before us.

If the Fathers assembled at Antioch had rejected the term, it would probably not have been in use in that diocese.

But Epiphanius, speaking of the people of Antioch itself, says: 'Ὁμολογοῦσι περὶ Υἱοῦ θαυμαστῶς, καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον οὐκ ἐκβάλλουσιν. Hær. lxxiii. 28.

There was also another Council held at Antioch A.D. 363: in which the party of Meletius wrote a letter to the Emperor Jovian. In this letter, they defended the term ὁμοούσιος, to which the opposite party objected.

"Ὅποτε καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ ξέρον τισὶν ὄνομα, τὸ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φαιμέν, ἀσφαλοῦς τετύχηκε παρὰ τοῖς πατράσιν ἐρμηνείας. Socrat. iii. 25.

They would hardly have used this language, if they had known of such formidable evidence being against them, as the official rejection of the term, a hundred years before, in their own city: and I cannot help thinking; that the total silence of Eusebius upon this matter (who would certainly not have been sorry to have heard of it) is some proof, that the story was not true: and it is also strange; that the Arians should *never*, before the Council of Ancyra A.D. 358, have brought it forward.

3. The arguments, hitherto used, might perhaps lead us to doubt, whether the story was not invented at that Council. But we have another testimony, which decidedly confirms the



notion: that the term *ὁμοούσιος* was used at the Council of Antioch.

Eusebius Dorylæensis, who lived A.D. 448, and who strenuously opposed Nestorius and accused him of agreeing with Paul of Samosata, quotes the following passage, as from a Creed drawn up at Antioch when Paul was condemned.

Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ καὶ οἱ αἰῶνες κατηρτίσθησαν. Euseb. Doryl. apud Anastas. Sinait. Hodeg. p. 324.

It is true, that these words are not found in the Creed which is inserted in my Book: but they at least shew, that we ought not to object to that Creed merely on account of its containing the word *ὁμοούσιος*. In fact, the Creed, which I have inserted, is not properly *a Creed*, but rather *an Exposition* of Faith concerning the Son *only*: whereas Eusebius may have taken his extract from what was actually *a Creed*. We can hardly conceive, that the Council of Antioch did not draw up a Creed, beside its Synodical Epistles still extant: and, since two Councils were held against Paul, in A.D. 264 and A.D. 269, it is not improbable, that two or even more Creeds may have been agreed upon. One of them may have been that, which was produced at the Council of Ephesus: and another, that, from which Eusebius made his extract.

In the collection of Councils published by Harduin, I find a passage: which shews, that the Council of Antioch *did* draw up such a Creed; and which may perhaps explain, why the one produced at Ephesus was said to have been agreed upon at Nice.

This passage speaks of the great and holy Council at Nice having confirmed the decision of the Fathers at Antioch.

Βεβαιώσεως τὸν ὅρον τῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Harduin. Concil. vol. i. p. 1639.

If the Council of Nice, in its authentic Acts, really inserted the Creed of the Council of Antioch with its own ratification of it: this may have misled the Council of Ephesus.

4. You will judge, whether there is any weight in this last

argument : but I really think the evidence very strong ; that *The Antiochene Fathers did not reject the term ὁμοούσιος*, and that *They used it in their Creed.*

5. Whether the Creed, which is now under discussion, was drawn up by them : is more, than I can venture to decide.

But, if there is no external evidence to make us think that it was drawn up at Nice, and if the only argument against its being ascribed to Antioch is taken from the use of the term ὁμοούσιος : I should not be afraid of boldly altering *Νικαίᾳ* to *Ἀντιοχείᾳ.*

The quibble of Paul of Samosata, alluded to by Dr. Burton, was this.

With what cogency it is not very easy to discern, Paul chose to argue : that, if the Father and the Son were of the *same* substance ; then there must have been a *common* substance PRIOR to them both, out of which the Father and the Son alike emanated, or (as he expressed it) which was divided into the Father and the Son.

The very existence of this quibble is of considerable historical importance.

Unless the term ὁμοούσιος had been familiarly known, and constantly employed, in the early Antenicene Church : it is quite clear, that the quibble itself could never have occurred.

The existence of the quibble, therefore, historically demonstrates the antenicene antiquity both of the term and of the doctrine set forth by the term.

## NUMBER II.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGED ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS, THAT JOHN WAS THE FIRST WHO CLEARLY AND BOLDLY TAUGHT THE DOCTRINES OF THE PREËXISTENCE AND DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

---

As a matter of great importance to the cause of Antitrinitarianism, Dr. Priestley alleges the testimonies of certain of the Fathers, which, he thinks, distinctly prove: that *St. John was THE FIRST, who clearly and boldly taught the doctrines of the preëxistence and divinity of Christ.*

He then, to the allegation, subjoins the following reflections by himself.

*After reading these testimonies, so copious and so full to my purpose, and UNCONTRADICTED BY ANY THING IN ANTIQUITY, it is not possible to entertain a doubt with respect to the opinion of the Christian Fathers. They must have thought: that The doctrines of the preëxistence and divinity of Christ had not been preached with any effect before the writing of St. John's Gospel; and, consequently, that, Before that time, the great body of Christians must have been Unitarians. And THEY ARE FAR FROM GIVING THE LEAST HINT OF ANY OF THEM HAVING BEEN EXCOMMUNICATED ON THAT ACCOUNT. When we consider how late the three first Gospels were written, the last of them not long before that of John, which was near, if not after, the destruction of Jerusalem; and that, in the opinion of the writers above mentioned, all this caution and reserve had been necessary, till that late period, on the part of the christian teachers: how is it possible, that, in their idea, the Christian Church in general*

*should have been well established in the belief of our Lord's divinity? They must have supposed: that, At the time of these publications, which was about the year 64, the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was not generally held by Christians. At this period, therefore, it may be inferred: that, In the opinion of these writers, the Christian Church was principally unitarian; believing only the simple humanity of Christ, and knowing nothing of his divinity or preëxistence. Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 7. sect. 2. Works, vol. vi. p. 437.*

In another part of his Works; apparently by a process not dissimilar to that, through which a person, by the frequent repetition of a fable, succeeds finally in persuading himself that there must be a great deal of truth in it: in another part of his Works, referring to what he had previously written, Dr. Priestley, with increasing confidence, advances still further.

*I have SHEWN, says he: that, by the UNIVERSAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE ORTHODOX WRITERS, neither the preëxistence nor the divinity of Christ was publicly taught by any Apostle before John. Origin of the Arian Hypoth. Works, vol. vii. p. 482.*

Such, with its asserted proof, is the allegation of Dr. Priestley.

I. Now, even if we suppose the historian to have fully SHEWN this matter by the UNIVERSAL acknowledgment of the orthodox writers: still, under *that* supposition, I do not distinctly perceive, what benefit will accrue to his cause.

1. So far as I can understand the value of such a demonstration, it will amount only to this.

*The Catholic Church did not receive the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity, until those doctrines were revealed to her.*

*Now this revelation, by the UNIVERSAL acknowledgment of the orthodox writers, as Dr. Priestley assures us, did not take place until the year 69 when St. John put forth his inspired Gospel: for, hitherto, neither the preëxistence nor the divinity of Christ had been publicly taught by any Apostle.*

*Therefore, until the year 69, the Catholic Church, never*



*having been publicly taught by any Apostle the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity, did not receive and embrace those doctrines.*

2. What then? The inquirer will naturally ask. How does *this* circumstance promote the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism?

Really, I am quite unable to tell him.

If Dr. Priestley's testimonies shew any thing, they simply shew: that *The Catholic Church did not hold the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity, until, in the year 69, through the inspired medium of St. John's written Gospel, those doctrines were for the first time publicly delivered to her; but that, Ever since that time, she has faithfully maintained them, on the ground that they had been then publicly taught by direct apostolical authority.*

3. *This, even by his own statement, is the whole, that Dr. Priestley's alleged testimonies either do or can establish.* For, if, *anterior* to the year 69, the Church held not doctrines, which, at *that* time, had never been publicly taught to her by *any* Apostle: her conduct, I apprehend, cannot afford much matter either of triumph or of astonishment.

Yet, how all this, even if we *grant* it to be well established, can *benefit* the cause of modern Antitrinitarianism: I am utterly unable to divine.

I should rather think: that Dr. Priestley has been industriously sharpening a sword against his own vitals. For, if, in the year 69, the Church was, for the first time, publicly taught, *by apostolical authority*, the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity: we may reasonably ask, *why* Dr. Priestley *rejected* those doctrines, when, according to the alleged tenor of *his own* testimonies, they have been thus, *by inspired apostolical authority itself*, fully, though not immediately, delivered.

II. Let, however, the *value*, of what Dr. Priestley *professes* to have *shewn*, be what it may: yet, since it certainly seems strange, that the Church should never have known the doctrines in question until the year 69, and that in that precise

eventful year they should for the first time have been publicly taught by the inspired apostolical authority of St. John ; we may justly inquire, whether Dr. Priestley has *really* shewn what he *claims* to have shewn.

He tells us : that *he has SHEWN the point before us by the UNIVERSAL acknowledgment of the orthodox writers.*

1. As this word UNIVERSAL is a very large word and mightily comprehensive : so Dr. Priestley satisfies its grasping requisitions after a manner peculiarly his own.

(1.) His jury of witnesses are, in number, precisely *twelve* : and their authorities he produces, as he himself carefully informs us, *nearly in the order of time in which the writers flourished.* Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 7. Works, vol. vi. p. 427.

(2.) Now the *oldest* of his witnesses is Origen, who flourished about the middle of the third century : and the two *youngest* of them are Nicephorus and Nicetas, who both flourished in the ninth.

(3.) How, then, can the empanelling of *such* a jury, admitting them for the present to be *unanimous in their verdict*, substantiate the large allegation of the historian : that *he has actually SHEWN the point before us by the UNIVERSAL acknowledgment of the orthodox writers ?*

2. I would not unhandsomely trouble Dr. Priestley to produce evidence *later* than the ninth century : but I may justly marvel, that he should lay claim to *the UNIVERSAL acknowledgment of the orthodox writers*, and yet that he should call up *no* jurors older than the middle of the third century and only a *single* juror even of *that* antiquity.

One might think, that the verdict of his chosen twelve would not have been *injured* by the *concurring* verdict of *their seniors*, Clement of Rome, and the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, and Ignatius, and Polycarp, and Justin, and Irenæus, and Athenagoras, and Tertullian, and Hippolytus, and Clement of Alexandria, and Cyprian, and Novatian, or any other Father

of the Church either prior to or contemporary with Origen : if such *concurring* verdict could have been obtained.

But the historian deemed it superfluous : and the voice of his twelve men, good and true, albeit none of the oldest, is amply sufficient to complete *the UNIVERSAL acknowledgment of the orthodox writers.*

III. If, however, the early theologians refuse to assist Dr. Priestley *positively*, by their UNANIMOUS, or indeed by ANY, attestation of what he wishes to establish : they may, peradventure, at least serve him *negatively*, by the accommodating excellence of holding their tongues.

Something of this sort may seem to be insinuated by the bold declaration, that *the testimonies of his select twelve are UNCONTRADICTED BY ANY THING IN ANTIQUITY.*

The phrase ANY THING is as large as the word UNIVERSAL. It comprehends both uninspired and inspired testimony. As it is dangerous to *use* ; because a single exception will evince its fallacy : so it is easy to *discuss* ; because its discussion requires not, like its establishment, the copiousness of omnigenous reading.

1. Dr. Priestley's testimonies are *uncontradicted by any thing in antiquity.*

What, then, shall we say to the distinct and perpetually repeated declarations of orthodox writers, *older* than any of those adduced by the historian : that *The doctrines of Christ's godhead and the Trinity, instead of being taught for the first time by St. John in the year 69, were harmoniously delivered to the Church, from the very beginning, by all the Apostles collectively ?*

Does *this* circumstance leave the historian's testimonies *uncontradicted* ? Yet, in speaking of those doctrines, *such* are the declarations, of Justin, and of the Writer to Diognetus, and of Irenèus, and of Polycarp, and of Tertullian, and of Clement of Alexandria. The list might easily be enlarged : but this catalogue of *ancient* witnesses may suffice.

(1.) Εἰς πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων ἐλθόντες, ταῦτα ἐδίδαξαν· καὶ



ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΙ προσηγορεύθησαν. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 67. Compare Ibid. p. 43, 46, 47, 52, 57, 58, 65.

(2.) ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ γενόμενος μαθητής, γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν· τὰ παραδοθέντα ἀξίοις ὑπηρετῶ γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς. Epist. ad Diog. in Oper. Justin. p. 387.

(3.) Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν πίστιν. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 2. p. 34. Compare Ibid. lib. i. c. 2. p. 34—36. c. 3. p. 36. lib. iv. c. 17. p. 243.

(4.) Hic (Polycarpus) docuit semper, quæ ab APOSTOLIS didicerat, quæ et Ecclesiæ tradidit: et sola sunt vera. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 3. p. 171.

(5.) Ebionæi etenim, eo evangelio quod est secundum Matthæum solo utentes, EX ILLO IPSO convincuntur non rectè præsumentes de Domino. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 11. § 12. p. 186.

(6.) Hanc regulam AB INITIO EVANGELII decucurrisset. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 2. Oper. p. 405.

(7.) In ea regula incedimus, quam Ecclesia ab APOSTOLIS, Apostoli a CHRISTO, Christus a DEO, tradidit. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæ. § 14. Oper. p. 109.

(8.) Ἄλλ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σώζοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ τε καὶ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ, τῶν ἁγίων ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος· ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατράσιν ὅμοιοι· ἦκον δὲ σὺν Θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικά καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. Oper. p. 274, 275.

(9.) Ἔοικεν δὲ ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν, ὃ παῖδες ὑμεῖς, τῷ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, οὗπερ ἔστιν Υἱὸς ἀναμάρτητος, ἀνεπίληπτος, καὶ ἀπαθὴς τὴν ψυχὴν· Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σχήματι, ἄχραντος, πατρικῷ θελήματι διάκονος, Λόγος, Θεός, ὁ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, σὺν καὶ τῷ σχήματι Θεός. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. i. c. 2. Oper. p. 79, 80.

2. But Dr. Priestley's testimonies are *uncontradicted by any thing in antiquity.*



That his testimonies are, again and again, flatly contradicted by the *really ancient* writers of the Church : we have already seen.

That these same testimonies are virtually, though decisively, contradicted even by the very Gospel of St. John himself : we shall next see.

Most singular and most unaccountable is the confusion of ideas, under which Dr. Priestley seems to have laboured throughout the whole of his discussion.

His object is to prove : that *John, in the year 69, through the medium of his written Gospel, was the FIRST, who publicly taught the hitherto not publicly taught, and therefore the hitherto ecclesiastically unknown and unreceived, doctrines of Christ's pre-existence and divinity.*

For this purpose, he adduces the testimonies of twelve several writers.

And then he declares : that these testimonies are *uncontradicted by any thing in antiquity.*

Yet, all the while, even to say nothing of the constantly opposing language of writers much earlier than any one of those whom *he* adduces, the very structure of St. John's written Gospel *itself* alone demonstrates THE ABSOLUTE IMPOSSIBILITY of the fact alleged.

(1.) I need scarcely point out the familiar peculiarity of the last published Gospel, as written by the beloved disciple of the Lord.

Much less historical than any one of its three predecessors, it is composed almost exactly upon the plan of Xenophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates* or of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

Throughout, it is *dramatic*, rather than *narrative*. Of the Saviour it recites numerous discourses, which appear not in the other more professedly historical Gospels : it states many of the objections, which were made to the peculiarity of his language : and, in short, it may well be styled *The Memorabilia of the great Founder of Christianity.*

What, then, is the inevitable result from this mode of composition ?

Clearly, it is the following.

With the single exception of the remarkable exordium of his written Gospel, it was PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, that John, whether he stated facts or wrote down discourses under the influence of that divine inspiration which effectually preserved him from all error and inaccuracy of detail, *could* communicate any thing *new*: that is to say, with the single exception of his exordium, it was PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, that John *could* communicate any thing *which had not been previously known*.

For those, who had *heard* our Lord's discourses, well *knew* what he had said, *long before* John authoritatively committed them, for the benefit of late posterity, to the durability of *writing*: and those, who had *witnessed* the recorded facts, must have been fully *acquainted* with the facts, *long anterior* to the time when the facts themselves were recorded in imperishable *letters*.

Hence it is manifest: that *The ONLY part of the last written Gospel, which can strictly be called new or which can be viewed as previously unheard of, is its brief, though very remarkable, exordium*.

The true question, therefore, is: *Do we find no supposed indication of Christ's præexistence and divinity in any part of St. John's Gospel, save in the exordium which stands prefixed to it?*

If this *be* the case: then it might, plausibly at least, be urged; that *John was the FIRST who publicly taught those PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN doctrines*.

If this *be not* the case: then the exordium can be viewed in no other light, than that of a compact and well digested statement of doctrines, which had *already* been revealed, and which in fact (agreeably to the express attestation of the *really early* Fathers) had been known to the Church from the very beginning.

Now Dr. Priestley must have been well aware: that proofs of the præexistence and divinity of Christ, no matter whether he deem them valid or invalid, are brought by the Catholic, not merely from the exordium, but also from various other parts, of St. John's Gospel.

Such being the case, every proof of this latter description, if it demonstrate the divinity of Christ, will, of plain necessity, demonstrate also : that the doctrine of his divinity could not but have been known *long anterior* to the time when the last written Gospel was published. For all such proofs are taken from facts or discourses, which John indeed has *recorded* in writing, but with which numbers beside himself must have been previously *acquainted*.

Hence, the *very necessity* of the mode, in which the last written Gospel is composed, PHYSICALLY precludes the possibility of St. John having been the FIRST, who, through the medium of his written Gospel, publicly taught the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity.

Thus, to give a single instance, the beloved disciple has committed to durable *writing* the important fact : that *Thomas, in the presence of all the assembled disciples, addressed his Saviour, without incurring the slightest rebuke, by the compellation of MY LORD AND MY GOD.*

Now the fact itself was *notorious*, long before St. John composed his Gospel. And, from the primitive ages down to the present day (See above, append. i. numb. i. text 26.), the Catholic has never ceased to view it as a direct and positive proof : that *The divinity of Christ was well known to the whole body of the faithful, at least as early as the occurrence of the resurrection.*

Therefore it is PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE : that John could have been the FIRST ; who, under the aspect of a *perfectly new* and *hitherto unheard of* doctrine, revealed it through the medium of his written Gospel. The record of THE FACT inevitably demonstrates the *anterior* knowledge of THE TENET.

(2.) As illustrative of this mode of examining St. John's Gospel, I shall here adduce a very important statement of Irenæus.

After giving us the most ancient Symbol extant, in which the godhead of Christ is distinctly and even verbally asserted (Χριστῶ Ἰησοῦ, τῶ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῶ), Irenæus goes on to



repeat, what he had already said in his introduction of the Symbol: that *The Catholic Church, in the beginning, received this faith from the Apostles.* And then he adds: that, *In regard to such faith, there was no diversity of opinion throughout any of either the provincial or national Churches, whether founded in Germany, or among the Iberians, or among the Celts, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Libya, or in the middle regions of the world.*

Such being his testimony to A FACT, we are obviously led to ask: *After what precise manner, was Christianity, in the first instance, planted by the Apostles?*

The answer is: that *They planted it, in those various regions, altogether ORALLY; before any one of the four WRITTEN Gospels, much more consequently before the latest of them, was published by each several evangelist.*

This was the mode, then, in which doubtless Christianity was originally planted by the Apostles.

Yet, by the express testimony of Irenèus, wherever they went, when as yet no *written* Gospel was in existence, they always *preached* the godhead of Christ. And, in consequence of this their *antecedent* ORAL predication, that doctrine was, *from the very first*, an unvarying article of faith with all the provincial or national Churches throughout the world. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 2, 3. p. 34—36.

Accordingly, in another place, Irenèus, with invincible force, presses home, against the innovating heretics of his own day, this identical fact: that *Numerous Churches had been apostolically planted among the unlettered barbarians BY WORD OF MOUTH ONLY; and that, As these Churches received the doctrine of Christ's incarnate godhead (IPSE PER SE HOMINEM ADUNANS DEO) without ANY WRITTEN LETTERS, so, still without ANY WRITTEN LETTERS, diligently guarding the ancient ORAL communication, they preserved inviolate and unchanged the same doctrine.* Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 4. p. 162.

(3.) To the illustrative testimony of Irenèus may be added



that, which is afforded by the Epistles of the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

Every one of those Epistles was composed and published *prior* to the Gospel written by St. John.

Now the *same* doctrines, which St. Paul taught in his Epistles by *writing*, he would doubtless teach to his converts by *word of mouth* also. For it is incredible: that he should *write* one doctrinal system, and yet that he should *preach* another.

But, in the Epistles of St. Paul, according to the judgment of the ancient as well as of the modern Catholic Church (See above, append. i. numb. 1. texts 27—34.), are contained some of the very strongest written attestations to the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity.

Therefore, as Irenæus most truly states under the aspect of a then well-known and familiar FACT, these doctrines must, *from the very beginning*, and consequently *long before the publication of St. John's written Gospel*, have been *orally* delivered, to all the first planted Churches, by *the collective inspired Apostles themselves*.

IV. The well-informed student of ecclesiastical antiquity, who recollects that *from the very first* the Ebionites were condemned as heretics, will readily absolve me from the necessity of taking any *lengthened* notice of Dr. Priestley's assertion: that *The early Fathers are far from giving the least hint of any primitive individuals having been excommunicated, on account of their believing only the simple humanity of Christ*.

Such an assertion closely resembles but too many other assertions of the historian: and with this *brief* remark I dismiss it.

V. I might now freely yield to Dr. Priestley his twelve *comparatively modern* authorities: but, partly from a love of truth, and partly from a wish to give a distinct idea of his mode of writing history, I shall not suffer them to stand without some examination.

The witnesses, whom he summons to attest the asserted FACT; that *St. John was the FIRST, who, in his written Gospel, clearly and boldly taught the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity*: are Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Jerome, Ambrose, Cyril of Alexandria, Marius-Mercator, Cosmas-Indicopleustes, Theophylact, Nicephorus, and Nicetas the Paphlagonian. Hist. of Early Opin. book iii. chap. 7. sect. 1. Works, vol. vi. p. 427—437.

1. Now, of Dr. Priestley's cited witnesses, two, namely Origen and Ambrose, are imperfect, and therefore insufficient, in their testimony.

(1.) These two writers do NOT say: that *John was THE FIRST who taught the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity with clearness and boldness; whence, anterior to the publication of his Gospel in the year 69, the great body of Christians must have been Unitarians, believing only the simple humanity of Christ, and knowing nothing of his divinity or preëxistence.*

But they only say, even according to Dr. Priestley's own exhibition of their sentiments: that *No previous EVANGELIST taught those doctrines so clearly as John; and that John almost alone, out of the four EVANGELISTS, has introduced them into HIS GOSPEL.* Orig. Comment. in Johan. Oper. vol. ii. p. 5. Ambros. de consens. evangel. lib. i. c. 5.

(2.) Now declarations of this description are widely different from a sweeping declaration: that, *Before the publication of St. John's Gospel in the year 69, the Church believed only the simple humanity of Christ, and knew nothing of his divinity or preëxistence.*

Such declarations, as those of Origen and Ambrose, respect *solely*, even *ex professo*, the four EVANGELISTS. They refer not to any *other* of the inspired writers: for some of the strongest proofs of Christ's preëxistence and divinity have constantly been adduced from the Epistles of St. Paul; *all* of which were written, as I have already observed, *anterior* to the Gospel of St. John. In regard to the specific plan and character, therefore, of the four GOSPELS *exclusively*, the declarations assert only,

what we all know to be true in fact : that *John entered into the doctrines more largely, than either Matthew or Mark or Luke.* The comparison, in short, lies, between John and the three other EVANGELISTS, not between John and Paul.

2. A similar measure of inaccuracy characterises Dr. Priestley's management of the language of Eusebius.

(1.) That historian does NOT say : that *John was THE FIRST who clearly taught in his written Gospel the doctrines of Christ's præexistence and divinity ; and that, For want of such antecedent teaching, the Church, prior to the year 69, was doctrinally anti-trinitarian and humanitarian.*

He only tells us : that, *While Matthew and Mark and Luke chiefly related those actions of our Lord, which were performed after the imprisonment of the Baptist ; John detailed those which preceded that imprisonment, beginning his Gospel with his Master's divinity which by the Holy Spirit had been more peculiarly reserved to him as their superior.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 24.

(2.) Here, as in the former case of Origen and Ambrose, we have nothing more than a remark, which *exclusively* affects the FOUR EVANGELISTS.

Eusebius very truly states : that the fourth Gospel was written on a different principle from that of its three predecessors. For, while the three first Evangelists were led by the Spirit to give an accurate detail of the later actions of Christ, the fourth Evangelist was led by the same Spirit to note indeed his earlier actions, but chiefly to enter largely and fully into the doctrine of his divinity.

(3.) In good sooth, had Eusebius asserted any such matter as Dr. Priestley would put into his mouth, he would have flatly contradicted himself. For, in the course of the very same chapter he tells us : that John, who had long *orally preached* the doctrinal truths of Christianity without using any written document, was finally induced to commit his sentiments and his information to the durability of immortal *letters.* The result of this was the production of the fourth Gospel.



According, then, to Eusebius, when Eusebius is fairly allowed to tell his own story : what John finally committed to *writing*, he had previously been in the constant habit of *orally preaching*.

Now, what *John* orally preached, we are quite sure, that *all his other brethren of the Apostolical College*, equally and harmoniously, preached orally likewise.

The testimony of Eusebius, therefore, instead of shewing that the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity were only for the first time clearly revealed to the Church when John published his written Gospel, distinctly shews the very reverse. For it shews : that The identical doctrines, which were finally committed to *writing*, had always, before that time, been *orally preached and declared*.

3. Much the same remarks equally apply to Dr. Priestley's treatment of Chrysostom.

(1.) This writer, after giving a comparative account of the four EVANGELISTS exactly similar to that of Eusebius, concludes with an observation, which contradicts, instead of corroborating, the wild speculation of the modern historian of Early Opinions.

John on the one hand, he tells us, and the three prior EVANGELISTS on the other hand, had respectively their own proper plan marked out by the good Spirit of God. But still none of them so rigidly adhered to their several plans, as not mutually to participate in the plans of each other. Thus, if John was not so absorbed in his higher theme of the Lord's divinity, but that he could also briefly touch upon the economy of his human incarnation : Matthew and Mark and Luke, conversely, were not so tied to a bare narrative of actions, as to be silent in regard to his eternal preëxistence. For it was one and the same Spirit, who influenced the minds of them all.

“Ο δὲ ἄξιον μετὰ τοῦτο θαυμάσαι, ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα εἰπεῖν ἐστίν· ὅτι μήτε οὗτος, πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλότερον ἑαυτὸν λόγον ἀφείς, τῆς οἰκονομίας ἠμέλησε· μήτε ἐκεῖνοι, τὴν περὶ ταύτης ἐσπουδακότες διήγησιν, τὴν προαιώνιον ἐσίγησαν ὑπαρξίν. Καὶ μάλα εἰκότως· ἐν γὰρ ἦν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ κινοῦν τὰς ἀπάντων ψυχάς. Διὸ καὶ πολ-



λήν, περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, ἐπεδείξαντο τὴν ὁμόνοιαν. Chrysost. Homil. iv. in Johan. i. 1.

(2.) Instead of setting John in a sort of opposition to the three prior Evangelists, as Dr. Priestley would have him do : Chrysostom avowedly celebrates the abundant (πολλήν) mutual concord and harmony of all the four.

4. Let us next pass conjointly to Epiphanius and Jerome.

(1.) Dr. Priestley's grave adduction of these two writers is not a little unaccountable : for, like Chrysostom, they bear testimony *directly adverse* to the opinion, which they are oddly brought forward to *support*.

Epiphanius declares : that John wrote his Gospel to *call back* into the fold of the Church those who had unhappily *strayed from* it into the heresy of Humanitarianism. Epiph. Hær. lxi. 23.

And Jerome asserts : that the Apostle composed his Gospel, *at the intreaty* of the Asiatic Bishops, for the purpose of confounding the Cerinthians and the Ebionites, who, though with some difference of modification, alike maintained, that our Lord had no existence before his birth from Mary. Hieron. Oper. vol. vi. Procœm. in Matt. Evan.

(2.) Thus speak Dr. Priestley's two witnesses, Epiphanius and Jerome.

If, then, John wrote his Gospel, to *bring back* those who had wandered *from* the truth of Orthodoxy *into* the error of Humanitarianism ; and if he wrote *at the request* of the Asiatic Bishops, to *confound* the heresy of the Cerinthians and the Ebionites : it is quite clear, from the very necessity of such statements, that he could not, *by the act of publishing his Gospel*, have been the *first* who clearly and boldly taught the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity ; and it is equally clear, from the very necessity of the same statements, that the Church could not, *anterior to the publication of his Gospel*, have been ignorant of Christ's preëxistence and divinity, and thence (as Dr. Priestley would persuade us) have believed only in his simple humanity.

For the wanderers, whom John sought to *reclaim*, had actually strayed *from* those identical doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity: and the Asiatic Bishops, at whose special *request* he wrote against the humanitarian heresy, certainly could not *themselves*, either have been *ignorant* of the doctrines in question, or have all the while been *holding* that very humanitarian dogma which they besought him to confound by the authority of his apostolical *censure*.

Hence, even on the very surface of the case, it is manifest: both that the wanderers must have *originally* held the doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity, and that the Asiatic Bishops must *always* have held them. For no man can be *brought back* to what he had *never forsaken*: and no man can gravely urge the *condemnation* of a doctrine, which he himself has never ceased to *maintain*.

Epiphanius and Jerome, therefore, are witnesses, not *for* Dr. Priestley's wild speculation, but *against* it. So far as *their* testimony can avail, they distinctly prove: that *The doctrines of Christ's preëxistence and divinity were the familiar and established doctrines of the Catholic Church, BEFORE St. John wrote and published his Gospel.*

5. But the most gross and shameless perversion of an ancient author, which it has ever been my fortune to encounter, is involved in Dr. Priestley's adduction of Cyril of Alexandria.

(1.) The Emperor Julian had alleged: that *Christians did not abide even by what had been declared by the Apostles.*

*For*, said he, *neither Paul nor Matthew nor Luke nor Mark had ever dared to call Jesus GOD, but only the good man John: and he was induced to do so, merely because a great multitude, both in the greek and in the italian cities, had been infected with the humour of deifying and worshipping the deceased.* Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 327.

(2.) Such, in form was the allegation of Julian: and Cyril meets it, not by *an acknowledgment of its general truth*, but by *a flat contradiction of it altogether.*

*John*, says he, *was NOT the first, who called Jesus GOD. But*

those, who wrote before him, Luke, I mean, and Matthew and Mark, called him LORD and GOD: every where ascribing to him the highest glory.

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ πρῶτος ἔφη Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγραφότες, Λουκᾶς τε φημί, καὶ Ματθαῖος, καὶ μὲν τοι καὶ Μάρκος, Κύριον δὲ καὶ Θεὸν ὠνόμαζον αὐτὸν, τὴν ὑπερτάτην δόξαν ἀπονέμοντες πανταχοῦ. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 331.

The *mode*, in which the earlier Evangelists called Christ GOD, he states to be, partly by their setting forth the fact of his miraculous conception in the character of EMANUEL or of GOD WITH US, and partly by their denominating him THE SON OF GOD: inasmuch as the phrase, THE SON OF GOD, indicates, of necessity, *The Son's Consubstantiality and Coëternity with the Father*. For, says Cyril, they well knew: that *He is GOD in nature and in verity*. See below, append. ii. numb. 10.

Christ being thus TRUE GOD, because he is the consubstantial and coëternal SON OF GOD, John (as Cyril proceeds to state) consistently teaches us: that *In the beginning was the Word*; and that *God was with God*. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 328.

So much for the three earlier *Evangelists*. With respect to *Paul*, whom the Emperor had associated with them in his allegation, Cyril here again meets his opponent with a *flat denial*: and he proves his point, precisely as the Church Catholic in all ages has proved it.

Paul, says Julian, never dared to call Jesus GOD.

You totally err, replies Cyril. For Paul expressly calls him GOD, when, in his Epistle to the Romans, he says: *Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came; who is over all GOD blessed for ever*. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 328.

(3.) These are the materials, on the strength of which, incredible as it may well seem, Dr. Priestley alleges Cyril, as asserting: that *Neither Matthew nor Mark nor Luke ever taught the divinity of Christ*; but that *That doctrine was, for the first time, publicly and boldly declared by St. John*.



Doubtless, such an assertion is to be found in the *Works* of Cyril: but, in truth, the *real proprietor* of the assertion is, not *Cyril himself*, but *the apostate Emperor Julian*.

6. The only witnesses, whom Dr. Priestley can now, in any sort, call his own, are Marius-Mercator, Cosmas-Indicopleustes, Theophylact, Nicephorus, and Nicetas the Paphlagonian.

In my retired situation, I have not those authors at hand for the useful purpose of verification. But, if I may draw any inference from the general character of Dr. Priestley's historical discoveries, I should strongly suspect; that they have been grievously misrepresented: I should strongly suspect; that they never affirm, what Dr. Priestley alleges them to affirm.

Be this, however, as it may; even if they *have* advanced the monstrous and absurd assertion ascribed to them: still, in a question of the present nature, chronology alone might well forbid the assigning of any weight to their authority.

Marius-Mercator, the earliest of Dr. Priestley's remaining witnesses, lived in the fifth century: Cosmas-Indicopleustes, in the sixth: Theophylact, in the seventh: and Nicephorus and Nicetas, in the ninth.

Not one of them, in short, can be reckoned an *ancient* witness: a witness, that is to say, who, from his nearness to the times of the Apostles, might give a really valuable and authoritative testimony.

In the professed redundance of Dr. Priestley's evidence, he actually produces only a single solitary witness from the three first ages: and that witness, Origen to wit who flourished not earlier than the middle of the third century, is nothing to his purpose.



## NUMBER III.

RESPECTING THE ALLEGATION, THAT ORIGEN DOUBTED WHETHER  
THE HOLY SPIRIT WAS NOT A CREATURE, AND THAT HE ALTO-  
GETHER REJECTED THE RELIGIOUS ADORATION OF THE SON.

---

I HAVE already noticed the extraordinary historical information, which Dr. Priestley professes to derive from the language of Origen (See above, book ii. chap. 4.): it may be useful, in the way of illustrating his very peculiar mode of writing history, to observe yet further his dealings with that ancient Father.

I. Origen, Dr. Priestley tells us, considered it as *doubtful*; whether, since all things were made by Christ, the Spirit also was not made by him: and the historian then proceeds to verify his remarkable assertion through the medium of a passage, in which Origen expresses *no doubt at all*. See Hist. of Early Opin. book ii. chap. 9. sect. 1. Works, vol. vi. p. 303.

This paradox may well nigh seem incredible: but the truth is; that the notion of Origen's *doubtfulness* was hastily caught up, in direct opposition to his own express statement, from a superficial view and a total misapprehension of the preceding context.

1. Origen's imaginary *doubtfulness* is, in reality, a brief account of three several opinions: one of which seems to be a purely hypothetical case; and another of which is evidently meant, as an exhibition of the doctrine of the Patripassians.

*Since it is a truth, says he, that all things were made by the Word: let us now inquire; Whether the Holy Spirit was also made by him.*

*Now I think : that a person, who believes the Spirit to have been made, and who alleges the text All things were made by the Word, must needs hold ; that the Word made the Spirit.*

*But the person, who denies that the Spirit was made by Christ, and who yet believes the assertion in the Gospel to be true, must maintain : that the Spirit was unmade.*

*A third person, again, may advance yet another opinion : for he may teach ; that the Holy Spirit has no existence distinct from the Father and the Son.*

*But, if this man will only give his attention, he may the rather think that the Son is distinct from the Father, inasmuch as there is an evident distinction made between the Son and the Spirit in that text : Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him ; but, whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, he shall not have forgiveness either in this or in the future world.*

2. Such is the preceding context : and then follows the passage, which Dr. Priestley adduces in connection with it, by way of proving ; that Origen thought it a matter of doubt, whether the Holy Spirit was not made by Christ.

*But we, indeed ; who are persuaded that there are three hypostases, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit ; and who believe, that nothing beside the Father is unbegotten : we maintain, as being more pious and true ; that, although all things were made by the Word, yet the Holy Spirit is more honourable in degree than all those things which were made through Christ by the Father. Comment. in Johan. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 56.*

3. Agreeably to this decision, which is plainly given in opposition to those who would either reduce the Spirit to the rank of a creature or confound him with the Father and the Son conjointly, Origen, in the course of the same Work where he makes it, more than once speaks of the Holy Ghost as being the third person of the Trinity : remarking, that, *if to the Father and the Son you add the Spirit, your theology will then be the best and the most perfect.* Ibid. p. 397, 416.

4. The speculation, *Whether the Holy Ghost was not made*

by the Word because all things were made by the Word, is obviously a mere quibble, which Origen amuses himself with discussing. But, as for his entertaining any doubt *himself* on the subject, his own words, even as cited by Dr. Priestley, are utterly irreconcilable with such a notion.

The Father, as the fountain of Deity, he maintains, with the Catholic Church in every age, to be *alone* unbegotten or self-originating: while the Word is the only-begotten Son of the Father; and while the consubstantial Spirit proceeds from the Father by the Son.

II. Dr. Priestley furthermore cites two several passages from Origen, for the purpose of shewing: that Origen altogether rejected the religious adoration of the Son.

1. According to the first of the cited passages, Origen speaks as follows,

*No Christian prays to any other than to the God who is over all, by our Saviour, the Son of God, who is the Logos and the Wisdom and the Truth.* Orig. apud Hist. of Early Opin. book ii. chap. 4. Works, vol. vi. p. 254.

(1.) In his wonted eager desire to establish by whatsoever means a favourite position, the historian has unluckily quite forgotten to tell his readers: that, in the course of the *very same* brief passage whence his citation is taken, Origen specially *disavows* the opinion wherewithal it is attempted to saddle him.

As he teaches us, that Christ is the living Word and God: so, in strict harmony with such instruction, he adds; that while we pray to the Father through the Word, it is *also* our duty, to supplicate the Word *himself*, and to offer up intercessions to him, and TO PRAY TO HIM.

Πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ δέησιν, καὶ προσευχὴν, καὶ ἔντευξιν, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, ἀναπεμπτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχου Λόγου καὶ Θεοῦ. Δησόμεθα καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν, καὶ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΞΟΜΕΘΑ δὲ, εἰὰν δυνώμεθα κατακοῦειν τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 233.



After this, follow four lines, in which Origen reprobates the worship of angels: and then occurs the clause, from which, because it inculcates the worship of God the Father through the mediatorial Son, Dr. Priestley has rapidly learned and triumphantly communicated, that *Origen REJECTED ALTOGETHER the worship of Christ.*

Αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη, παραστήσασα τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐφ' οἷς εἰσιν ἕκαστοι (scil. ἀγγέλοι) τεταγμένοι, οὐκ ἔασει ἄλλω θαρρῆν εὐχεσθαι, ἢ τῷ πρὸς πάντα διαρκῆ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ὅς ἐστι Λόγος, καὶ Σοφία, καὶ Ἀλήθεια, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα λέγουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ τῶν προφητῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γραφαί. Ibid. lib. v. p. 233.

(2.) According to Origen, the Father is to be worshipped with his own proper worship; and the Son is *also* to be worshipped with *his* own proper worship: inasmuch as the Father is God over all; and inasmuch as the Son is the living Word and God.

The opposition lies, not between *the adoration of the Father* and *the adoration of the Son*, but between *the adoration of the Father through the Son* and *the idolatrous adoration of angels.*

(3.) That part of Origen's statement, which respects *the adoration of the Son*, whether it be in the way of intercession or of thanksgiving or of prayer, Dr. Priestley *deliberately suppresses*: and then, citing *alone* that other part which inculcates *the worship of the Father through the Son* in opposition to *the idolatrous worship of angels*, he, on the strength of this garbled citation, assures his readers; that *Origen REJECTED ALTOGETHER the worship of the Son.*

2. The historian, however, quotes yet another passage from Origen.

*If we know what prayer is, we must not pray to any one of things produced, not even to the Christ himself, but to the alone God and Father of all things: to whom also our Saviour himself prayed.* Orig. apud Hist. of Early Opin. book ii. chap. 4. Works, vol. vi. p. 254, 255.

In thus giving the *words* at least of Origen, Dr. Priestley is



certainly correct : for the Greek of that Father runs in manner following.

Ἐὰν δὲ ἀκούωμεν ὅτι ποτέ ἐστι προσευχή, μήποτε οὐδενὶ τῶν γεννητῶν προσευκτέον ἐστίν, οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὄλων καὶ Πατρὶ· ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν προσηύχετο, ὡς παρεθέμεθα, καὶ διδάσκει ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι. Orig. de Orat. § 15. Oper. vol. i. p. 222. Paris. 1733.

(1.) Any person, who is moderately conversant with Origen's writings, will immediately perceive : that Dr. Priestley would put a sense upon this detached passage, which is utterly inconsistent with various other statements of that Father.

Whence it will obviously follow : that Origen, though here quoted with *verbal* accuracy, has, in point of *import*, been grossly misrepresented by the historian.

Some few of these statements I shall present to the cautious reader : that so he may be enabled to form his own judgment on the matter now before us.

In the recently considered passage which has been garbled by Dr. Priestley, Origen, we have seen, declares : that, while we pray to the Father through the Word, *we must also supplicate the Word himself, and offer up our intercessions to him, and give thanks to him, and pray to him.*

Δησόμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν, καὶ προσευξόμεθα δέ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 233.

So likewise, in another passage, Origen declares of himself and of the whole colleztive Church Catholic : *We worship one God, the Father and the Son.*

Ἐνα οὖν Θεὸν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, θεραπεύομεν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 386.

Again, in another passage, Origen similarly declares of himself and of the whole Church : *We recite hymns, to the alone God who is over all, and to his only-begotten Son God the Word.*

Ἕμνονς γὰρ εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι λέγομεν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Θεὸν Λόγον. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 422.

So again, in another passage, Origen teaches us to *pray, both to God the Father, and to the only-begotten Word of God.*

Μόνῳ γὰρ προσευκτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ· καὶ προσευκτέον γε τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως Λόγῳ Θεοῦ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 395.

Again, in another passage, calling men away from the adoration of the Host of Heaven, he says, contradistinctively to them: *We will worship, the Father who is the author of all prophecies in them, and the Word of God who administers them.*

Οὐδ' οὕτως αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς προφητειῶν, καὶ τὸν διάκονον αὐτῶν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνήσομεν. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 239.

And, yet again, in another passage, he exhorts: that *prayer should be offered to the Word of God who is able to heal us.*

Οὐδὲν ἤττον καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος εὐχέσθω τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δυναμένῳ αὐτὸν ἰάσασθαι. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. v. p. 238.

(2.) With such positive declarations before us, to which it were an easy task to add many others, we may be quite sure, unless Origen be the very pink of self-contradictive inconsistency: that Dr. Priestley, when, in his own sense of that Father's words, he would exhibit him as roundly declaring, that *We ought NOT to pray to Christ*, has grievously, though peradventure through sheer ignorance quite unwittingly, misrepresented his meaning.

For, if, in the second cited passage, Origen be *thus* understood, we shall make him hopelessly and utterly irreconcilable with himself.

(3.) It will be asked: What, then, could Origen design to intimate in the singular passage now under consideration?

I reply: that the passage before us, adduced and (so far as its *import* is concerned) misrepresented by Dr. Priestley, merely sets forth one of those refinements, in which Origen so much delighted to expatiate.

As the whole context of the passage shews, he would teach us: that, under two several aspects, prayer is *not* to be offered to Christ.

Thus, Christ is *not* to be prayed to, under the aspect of *That which has been born*, or under the aspect of *The incarnate Son's human nature*. For adoration is due to the Essential Deity alone.

And thus, again, Christ is *not* to be prayed to, under the aspect of *Our High-Priest or Mediator*. For, in *that* capacity, his ecumenical office is, not to receive our prayers as addressed immediately to himself, but to present them intercessively to the Father.

But, though, in the judgment of Origen, Christ ought *not* to be prayed to, under either of these two precise aspects: yet, as Origen himself in numerous passages elsewhere instructs us, this is no reason, why prayer should not be offered to him, as *God the Son, the eternal Word, inseparably united to the Father in the substance of the strictly one Godhead*.

Accordingly, as Dr. Priestley ought to have known and to have stated, Origen actually refers to such a distinction in the very passage, which was first cited, and which has been so daringly garbled by the faithless historian.

*We shall supplicate also the Word himself, and offer up our intercessions to him, and give thanks to him, and pray to him:*  
IF, RESPECTING PRAYER, WE SHALL BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND  
DICTIONAL PROPRIETY AND INCORRECT ABUSE.

Δησόμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐχαριστήσομεν, καὶ προσευξόμεθα δὲ, εἰάν δυνώμεθα κατακούειν τῆς περὶ προσευχῆς κυριολεξίας καὶ καταχρήσεως.

Here we have the distinction in form, stated, exactly where it ought to be stated, regularly and explicitly.

We must *not*, says Origen, pray to Christ, as *Our High-Priest and our Mediator*: nor yet must we pray to him, as *That which according to his human nature has been produced*. For, when Christ is *thus* viewed, we must pray to no other than God who is over all: and, if, under either of these two aspects, we pray to Christ, we pray to him (what Origen calls) *cataphrestically* or *abusively*.

But, to the Word himself, as *One God from all eternity with*

*the Father*, it is our duty to offer every form of supplication, even as we offer it to the Father. For, when Christ is *thus* viewed, we pray to him (as Origen speaks) *cyriolexically or with strict dictional propriety*.

(4.) Thus, from two passages, the one shamelessly garbled, and the other woefully misrepresented, Dr. Priestley, in defiance of Origen's repeated declarations to the contrary, would, to his unwary readers, exhibit that Father, *as, totally and under every aspect, REJECTING the divine adoration of Christ*.

On the second passage from Origen's Treatise on Prayer, the purport of which Dr. Priestley has completely misrepresented, there is an excellent note by Mr. Reading, which is given in the Paris edition of Origen. See Origen. Oper. vol. i. p. 917, 918. Paris. 1733. The inquirer may also profitably consult the remarks in Huet. Origenian. lib. ii. c. 2. quæst. 2. § XXIX.



## NUMBER IV.

RESPECTING THE OPINION ENTERTAINED BY THE JEWS CONCERNING THE MESSIAH AT THE TIME OF OUR LORD'S FIRST ADVENT.

---

### SECTION I.

THE CAUSE AND PLAN OF THE INQUIRY.

---

DR. PRIESTLEY has attempted to perplex the subject of our Lord's divinity by talking of the prodigious change of ideas which must have occurred, when the Apostles, ceasing to view him as a mere man like themselves, began additionally to esteem him the Most High God: and he thinks, that we can find no trace of any such change recorded in Holy Scripture. On these matters, he is so positive, that he is sure it must be acknowledged, even by the Trinitarian himself: that *The first ideas, which the Apostles entertained concerning Christ, were; that he was a mere man like any other mere man.* Hist. of Corrupt. part i. introd. Works, vol. v. p. 14, 15.

I. I know not, that the Trinitarian is any way *bound* to seek an answer to curious questions of this description, merely because it has pleased Dr. Priestley to propound them.

The burden of chronological demonstration rests upon those, who *reject* the doctrines of the Catholic Church; not upon those, who *maintain* them.

If the tenet of Christ's godhead be a corruption, and if it were unknown to the primitive believers: it is the business of those, who advance such a charge, to make it good, by pointing out

specifically, *the precise time when, and the precise person by whom*, it was introduced into the Church ; a matter, as we have seen, given up by Dr. Priestley himself in utter despair.

As for those who receive the tenet, it is amply sufficient for *them* to have learned : that Thomas, without censure, openly addressed his Saviour as his God ; that the protomartyr Stephen closed his mortal career, by solemnly invoking him with prayer and intercession ; that John explicitly declared him to be God ; that Paul, while he pronounced him to be *God over all*, used language respecting him, which is inapplicable save to THE DEITY ; that the primitive believers were familiarly, from their ordinary practice, denominated *those who invoke the name of Christ* ; and that the early writers of the Church, who must have best understood the real doctrine of the Apostles, understood all these matters precisely as they are now understood by modern Trinitarians. To *them* it is enough, that the doctrine *has been* revealed : and, if their opponents think otherwise, they call upon them demonstratively to point out a period, when the doctrine *existed not* in the Church ; they call upon them to specify *the time when and the person by whom*, the doctrine was first introduced into it.

This, I think, would be quite a sufficient answer to Dr. Priestley's curious inquiries : nor is the Catholic *bound* to furnish any other reply. But, though he be not *bound*, he may of *his own good pleasure* prosecute the matter further : and, as it involves a subject of considerable interest and of some difficulty to the Humanitarian, I shall enter into it a little more at large.

II. If Dr. Priestley means only to say ; that, *When the several Apostles first accidentally beheld Christ, or when they were first introduced to him as one person is introduced to another, they supposed him to be a mere man like themselves* : his assertion, no doubt, will be readily admitted even by the most strenuous Trinitarian.

But, if he means to say ; that *They still continued to hold the same opinion, when they believed and acknowledged him to be the promised Messiah* : we must have something more cogent, than

the mere assertion of the historian, to induce us to adopt his sentiments.

1. The first disciples of our Lord, *previous* to their receiving any particular instruction from *him*, must certainly have entertained that opinion respecting the promised Messiah, which *generally* prevailed among their countrymen.

Hence, when they, *subsequently* and *concretely*, confessed Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah : they must forthwith have entertained that identical opinion respecting Jesus, whatever the opinion itself might be, which they had *antecedently* and *abstractedly* entertained respecting the Messiah.

2. Thus far, the matter is perfectly clear : and, from this point, the sole question is ; *WHAT opinion, respecting the Messiah, was entertained by the Jews, at the time of our Lord's first advent ?*

III. The question before us is settled, in a way more summary than satisfactory, by the historian of the Corruptions of Christianity.

*The Jews, says he, were taught by their prophets to expect a Messiah, who was to be descended from the tribe of Judah and the family of David ; a person, in whom themselves and all the nations of the earth should be blessed : but none of their prophets gave them an idea of any other than a man like themselves in that illustrious character ; and no other did they ever expect, or do they expect to this day.* Hist. of Corrupt. part i. introd. Works, vol. v. p. 14.

Those, who are conversant with Dr. Priestley's historical productions, must be fully aware ; that rashness, rather than accuracy, is the grand characteristic of his assertions : and, indeed, so generally, from long experience, have I found this to be the case, that I may safely say ; whenever some bold and extraordinary allegation has tempted me to consult the authority upon which it professed to be founded, that I have invariably been led to the discovery either of some gross falsification or of some complete perversion or of some ignorant misapprehension : insomuch that an allegation of this sort, upon the first



blush, *now* always leads me to anticipate, as a thing of course, either misconstruction or inaccuracy.

That *The Jews, in the present day, professedly expect only a man in the character of their Messiah* : is readily allowed.

But, that *None of the ancient prophets gave them an idea of any other than a man like themselves in that illustrious character*, and that *No other than a mere man did they EVER expect* : can be considered only in the doubtful light of hardy asseverations, cheaply thrown out at random, according to his wont, by the rapid historian of the Corruptions of Christianity.

1. With respect to the ancient prophets, it will be sufficient to observe ; that those, who announce the Messiah, as *The Wonderful One*, as *The mighty God*, as *The Lord the messenger of the covenant whose temple was the temple of Jehovah himself*, as *The Ruler in Israel whose goings forth have been from old even from everlasting*, as *The Sun of righteousness*, as *Jehovah sent by Jehovah*, as *Jehovah himself whose precursor should be the mystical prophet Elijah*, as *God whose throne should be for ever and ever* : it will be amply sufficient to observe, that those, who employ such language, can scarcely be said to have *given the Jews an idea of nothing more than a man like themselves in that illustrious character*. And be it remembered, that these several predictions were believed by the Rabbins of old to relate to the Messiah : the *application* of them is not a modern figment of Christians.

2. To make this observation, respecting the ancient prophets, will be quite sufficient. Whether Dr. Priestley's other assertion, that *The Jews NEVER expected any save a mere human Messiah*, be more accurate, will form a very curious subject of investigation.

In prosecuting such an investigation, I shall not have recourse to the well known Work of Dr. Allix ; though, from the very language of the Rabbins themselves, that Work clearly enough establishes many points in the arcane theology of the Sanhedrim, which cannot but displease the School of modern Antitrinitarianism : neither shall I advert to the remarkable system of



doctrine, propounded and advocated by the Jew Philo, as early as the middle of the first century.

On the contrary, I shall take the simple and unexceptionable course of appealing to the documents of the New Testament : and, if I should be tempted to call in the evidence of Justin and Maimonides by the way of corroboration, still, unless I be much mistaken, even those documents alone will be found quite sufficient to evince the erroneousness of Dr. Priestley's assertion ; that *No other, than a mere human Messiah, did the Jews EVER expect.*

---

## SECTION II.

### EVIDENCE FROM JOHN VII. 26, 27.

---

When the contemporaries of our Lord were led to speculate on the question, *Whether he could possibly be the Messiah or not*, they expressed, we are told, their abstract sentiments respecting that mysterious character, in the following very remarkable terms.

*Do the rulers know indeed, that this is the very Christ? Howbeit, we know this man, whence he is : but, when the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.* John vii. 26, 27.

I. I am fully aware, that an attempt has been made to explain or to nullify this extraordinary passage by the adduction of an alleged Jewish tradition : but I have been not a little amused by the simple operation of tracing backward the legend in question to the authority, upon which it has been made ultimately to repose.

The Editor of the Improved Version, with his usual compendious dogmatism, boldly remarks upon the text : that *It was a tradition of the Jews ; that, after the Messiah was born, he would be conveyed away and miraculously concealed, till Elias*

came to reveal and anoint him. For this note, the Editor's professed authority is Dr. Whitby.

On turning to Dr. Whitby's Commentary on the New Testament, I found not a syllable about any *miraculous* concealment; the *miracle* being an improvement, the sole property of which is vested in the Editor: but the legend itself I found stated, as follows.

*This is doubtless spoken from the vain traditions of their Rabbins: who owned, indeed, that their Messiah was to be born at Bethlehem; but who imagined, that he was presently to be conveyed thence and concealed till Elias came to anoint him.*

For his authorities, Dr. Whitby refers to the Targum on Micah and to the statement of Trypho in Justin Martyr.

1. The words of the Targum, which is the first of Dr. Whitby's authorities for the asserted legend, are these.

*Thou, O Messiah, who lyest hid for the sins of the children of Zion, to thee shall the kingdom come.* Targ. on Micah iv. 8.

Here the Messiah is doubtless described, as lying hid for the sins of Israel: but, whether there is any reference intended to the alleged tradition, or whether (what seems much more probable) the place means only that the sins of Israel might prevent the *manifestation* of the Messiah at his appointed time and thus cause him to *lie hid* for the sins of the children of Zion (a notion, well known to prevail among the Jews), cannot, I think, be determined independently of other information.

2. This information I might well have expected to find in Justin, had I not already been tolerably acquainted with the writings of that Father.

Now, from such an acquaintance, I can securely assert: that not the smallest trace will the most diligent inquirer be able to discover, either of the Editor's *recently invented miracle*, or of Dr. Whitby's *conveyance from Bethlehem and subsequent concealment*.

(1.) Respecting both the *one* and the *other*, Trypho, though regularly adduced as an authority, is profoundly silent.

The Jewish disputant merely intimates: that the Messiah, after his birth, would not be conscious that he *was* the Messiah; and that the Messiah himself (and thence of course his neighbours) would remain in this state of ignorance as to his true character, until Elias should have anointed him, and thus should have made him publicly known to all.

As for any assertion, that even this state of temporary unconsciousness of character was the result of the sins of the children of Zion; most assuredly no such assertion is ever made by Trypho. I subjoin, however, his own words, that every person may be able to judge for himself.

Χριστὸς δὲ, εἰ καὶ γεγένηται καὶ ἔστι που ἄγνωστός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πω ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσταται οὐδὲ ἔχει δύναμιν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῶν Ἡλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιήσῃ. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 174.

(2.) According to Trypho's account of the speculation, just as Saul lived in his native place until manhood, wholly unconscious that in the counsels of God he was destined to the kingdom of Israel; so would the Messiah live quietly in his native place until manhood, wholly unconscious that in the counsels of God he was destined to the Messianism: and, just as Saul was unaware of his appointed lot, until anointed and publicly proclaimed by Samuel; so would the Messiah be unaware of his appointed lot, until anointed and publicly proclaimed by Elias.

How, then, could such a supposed circumstance (and this is the whole that Trypho tells us) lead the Jews to say: *When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is?*

The legend merely intimates: that the Messiah would for a season live privately among his kinsmen and neighbours, unconscious of his *being* the predicted Messiah.

Hence, most assuredly, the persons, who received this legend, must also have believed: that, when at length he *should* be anointed to his high office, every one of his pristine kinsmen and neighbours would know perfectly well, both *whence he was*, and *where he had previously resided*.

Consequently, from their reception of any such legend as that



given by Trypho, the Jews, our Lord's contemporaries, could never have been led to say: *When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.*

In other words, the legend, as given by Trypho, accounts not, in the smallest degree, for the very peculiar language, employed by the Jews, our Lord's contemporaries.

3. There is, indeed, a wild figment, given in the Jerusalem *Berachoth* and in the *Bereshit Rabba*, which bears some resemblance to the legend detailed by the Editor and Dr. Whitby: but, from the very nature of its chronological construction, it cannot serve the purpose of rabbinically illustrating the text in St. John's Gospel.

(1.) According to this figment, Messiah was born on the day when the temple was destroyed by Titus: and afterward, at the age of five years, and in the presence of Elias, was suddenly rapt away to the great sea. While the prophet was lamenting the disappearance of the hope of Israel, the Bath-Kol was heard to declare: that, after remaining four hundred years in the great sea, and eighty years in the ascent of smoke with the sons of Korah, and eighty years in the gates of Rome, he should return and rule over every great city even to the time of the end. See Raymund. Martin. Pug. Fid. par. ii. c. 7.

(2.) Such is the figment. But, since it must have been fabricated *after* the destruction of the temple, it clearly cannot be legitimately employed to elucidate a remark of the Jews, which was made in the days of our Lord or nearly forty years *before* the destruction of the temple.

II. Setting then aside the idle legend, which the Editor with a gratuitous improvement of his own has borrowed from Whitby, and which Whitby purports to have discovered where it certainly cannot be found, we may reasonably ask: What could the Jews mean, in saying; *When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is?*

1. Had our Lord's contemporaries expected a mere man like themselves (which, Dr. Priestley assures us, was the fact), they could not but have been aware, that hundreds must have known



his origin: for how could an individual be born like any other man, and live among his kindred in his native place to the age of maturity; while yet all his neighbours should be ignorant, both of his parentage, and of his local habitation? The thing is clearly impossible: and, with such views of the Messiah's character, the Jews never could have employed such phraseology.

2. What then did they mean by their language, as recorded by St. John?

They indisputably referred, I think, to the familiar declaration of one of their own ancient prophets.

*Out of thee, Bethlehem, shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel: whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting.* Micah v. 2.

To suppose, that our Lord's contemporaries expected a mere human Messiah or (in the language of Dr. Priestley) *a man like themselves*, is irreconcilable with the testimony of the sacred historian.

---

### SECTION III.

#### EVIDENCE FROM THE JEWISH ESTIMATION OF A CLAIM OF THE MESSIAHSHIP.

---

But it may be said, that the language of the Jews, though sufficient to prove their belief in the mysteriousness or the pre-existence of the Messiah, is insufficient to prove their belief in his divinity.

Be it so: yet, even in that case, enough will have been adduced to shew the total inaccuracy of Dr. Priestley's assertion; that *The Jews NEVER expected any other Messiah than a mere man like themselves*. But the remarkable passage, which I have last considered, is not the only one, from which the sentiments of the ancient Jews may be collected.

I. When Pilate openly exculpated our Lord from all criminality, the whole assembled multitude of the Jews gave him the following answer.

*We have a law : and, by our law, he ought to die ; BECAUSE he made himself the Son of God. John xix. 7.*

Such, be it observed, was the general language of the people at large : and, with it, the particular language and action of the high-priest perfectly corresponded.

*The high-priest answered and said unto him : I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him : Thou hast said. Nevertheless, I say unto you : Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man, sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Then the high-priest rent his clothes, saying : He hath spoken blasphemy : what further need have we of witnesses ? Behold now, ye have heard his blasphemy. What think ye ? They answered and said : He is guilty of death. Matt. xxvi. 63—66.*

1. From these passages, it is demonstrably evident : that, *In the judgment both of the high-priest and of the Sanhedrim and of the whole Jewish nation at the time when our Lord appeared upon earth, a claim of the Messiahship, by one who was counted a mere man like themselves, constituted a species of blasphemy, for which the Law of Moses had appointed the penalty of death.*

(1.) Now, in the whole Law of Moses, there is no statute, which, *in so many words*, pronounces *A claim of the Messiahship* to be blasphemy, and which thence makes it a capital offence.

Yet we may be sure, that persons, so well versed in their own Law as all the Jews were from the high-priest down to the peasant, would never have unanimously appealed to a provision of that Law, if no such provision had been in existence.

What, then, could have been the particular statute, to which they all, with one voice, so confidently appealed ?

Doubtless, they alluded to that enactment, by which it was provided : that, *If any prophet or dreamer of dreams should en-*

*tice them to THE WORSHIP OF FALSE GODS, he should surely be put to death by the punishment of stoning.* Deut. xiii. 1—11. Compare John viii. 56—59. x. 30—39. xix. 7. Matt. xxvi. 63—66. Mark xiv. 60—64. Luke xxii. 66—71.

(2.) To seek any other statute save this, under which our Lord could be adjudged to death as a blasphemer, will be a fruitless labour: and the mode, in which they must prescriptively have construed this statute for the purpose of bringing him within its provisions, affords a clear and distinct indication of the sentiments which they entertained respecting the promised Messiah.

Jesus they considered as a person, who claimed to be a prophet, though they themselves disallowed his claim. In his prophetic character, he declared himself to be the Messiah and the Son of God. But, in the theology of the ancient Jews, Messiah or the Son of God was that Jehovah, the Messenger of Jehovah, whom they well knew their Fathers to have worshipped, and whom they revered as possessing undoubted divinity. Jesus, therefore, in *their* apprehension, by declaring himself to be the Messiah, declared himself to be God. His *declaration*, however, they rejected: and *himself* they deemed an impostor. Hence, as he arrogated proper divinity by the very act of claiming to be the Messiah, they pronounced him to be a blasphemer, who, by enticing them to the worship of *himself*, led them after A FALSE GOD from the one Jehovah. This construction of his conduct brought him within the statute: and, for the blasphemy there described, he was sentenced to death. *We have a law*, cried the whole body of the people, in strict accordance with the legal opinion of the high-priest and the Sanhedrim: *We have a law: and, by our law, he ought to die; BECAUSE he made himself the Son of God.* The punishment, provided for the offence, was stoning: but, had our Lord been stoned, the prophecies would not have been accomplished. Hence, by the providence of God, Judèa had been reduced to a roman province anterior to his death: and the consequence was, that, under the roman government, the roman punishment



of crucifixion was substituted for the levitical punishment of stoning.

2. The judicial case of our Lord, founded upon the statute in Deuteronomy, is strongly illustrated, both by what had antecedently happened to himself, and by what subsequently happened to his disciples.

(1.) On two several occasions, it is recorded, that the Jews attempted to stone our Lord: or, in other words, on two several occasions, it is recorded, that they attempted to inflict upon him the punishment ordained for those blasphemers, who should seek to introduce *the worship of A FALSE DEITY*. John viii. 54—59. x. 22—39.

Now, on each occasion, the specific ground of their assault was the circumstance: that, from his own uncorrected language, they understood him, in his claimed capacity of the Messiah and the Son of God, to arrogate to himself the proper character of the Godhead.

A claim of the divine Sonship, as they well knew, was identical with a claim of the Messiahship: and a claim of the Messiahship, as they also well knew, was equivalent to a claim of divinity.

Hence, when, in answer to their question whether he were indeed the Christ, our Lord styled God *his Father* and declared that he and his Father were one: the mode, in which the Jews understood his language and in which they vindicated their attempt to stone him, was *by themselves* expressly stated in manner following.

*For a good work, we stone thee not: but FOR BLASPHEMY; and BECAUSE THAT THOU, BEING A MAN, MAKEST THYSELF GOD.*

The *blasphemy*, for which they stoned him, is declared to be *The profane assumption of divinity by a mere human individual*. But our Lord had made no assumption of divinity, save by the acknowledgment, that he was the Messiah, the Son of God, one with the Father. Therefore, most indisputably, so far as I can understand the purport of the allegation made by the Jews, they must have pronounced him guilty of making



himself God, BECAUSE he claimed to be the Messiah : a circumstance, which inevitably brings out the result, that *They believed the Messiah to be God.*

This, according to *their own* statement, was the blasphemy which he had spoken : and this same was also the blasphemy, alleged against him by the high-priest and the Sanhedrim, and reëchoed by the whole body of the people. He claimed to be Messiah the Son of God : and therefore, in their estimation, he was guilty of blasphemy ; BECAUSE *that he, being a man, made himself God.*

(2.) Exactly the same punishment of stoning was inflicted by the Jews, both upon Stephen and upon Paul : upon Stephen, mortally ; upon Paul, not mortally. Acts vii. 54—60. xiv. 19.

The reason was : that each alike proclaimed Jesus to be the Messiah, and that Stephen additionally asserted his own personal view of him standing on the right hand of God in the glory of the Shechinah.

Now, had the Jews, as Dr. Priestley assures us, believed, that *The Messiah would be nothing more than a man like themselves* ; they might have deemed our Lord and his disciples impostors or enthusiasts : but, if they entertained only *such* sentiments of the Messiah, it is difficult to comprehend, both why they should have charged the former with the arrogation of divinity *because* he claimed to be the Messiah, and why they should so furiously have proceeded to inflict the prescribed punishment of blasphemers upon persons, who, according to Dr. Priestley's hypothesis, had done nothing more than proclaim a particular individual to be *the mere man* whom the Jews expected under that well-known appellation.

3. It may not be useless here to remark : that there is a curious passage in Limborch's *Friendly Conference*, which strongly illustrates the ancient Jewish construction of the statute in Deuteronomy ; though the hebrew speaker, unlike his forefathers, denies, not merely the godhead of Jesus in the concrete, but the godhead of the Messiah himself in the abstract.

(1.) Orobio insists : that, if the expected Christ should

teach the doctrine of his own divinity, he ought to be stoned for blasphemy as a false prophet. Such a thing, indeed, he deems utterly impossible. But still, putting it as an hypothetical case, he pronounces : that the penalty, annexed to blasphemy, ought to be the punishment.

Dato impossibili, quod Messias, quem expectamus, eam doctrinam Israellem doceret; jure foret, ut pseudopropheta, lapidandus. *Limb. Amic. Collat. cum Jud. p. 111.*

(2.) The statute, alluded to by Orobio, is plainly that in the book of Deuteronomy, to which his forefathers similarly alluded, when, speaking of our Lord, they said: *We have a law: and, by our law, he ought to die; BECAUSE he made himself the Son of God.*

4. Antitrinitarians sometimes attempt to nullify the conclusion drawn from the peculiar language of the high-priest and the Jews, by saying: that *blasphemy* is a very indefinite term, and that it is used in several different senses.

(1.) I readily allow, that the word *blasphemy* is not always employed in the same sense: but, with what pertinence such an observation is made in the *present* case, I am unable to discern.

In the application of the charge of blasphemy against our Lord, there is not the slightest degree of indefiniteness. He is unanimously pronounced to be a blasphemer, *on the specific ground of his claiming to be Messiah the Son of God*: and the nature of his blasphemy had already been strictly defined to be this; that, *In claiming to be Messiah the Son of God, he, being a man, made himself God.* Such was the crime alleged against him: and, for this crime, the Law, they assert, has appointed the punishment of death.

Now, by what conceivable process, can a claim of the Messiahship be construed to be any species of blasphemy, for which the Law has appointed the punishment of death: if, in the opinion both of the judges and of the whole people, the Messiah was expected to be nothing more than *a mere man like themselves?*

(2.) That the imputed blasphemy of our Lord was thought

to be of the very worst kind, is evident from the action of the high-priest.

Would he have rent his clothes with the most vehement expression of horror, if he had considered Jesus as claiming to be nothing more, than what he and the whole nation deemed *a mere human prophet*: a prophet, indeed, of higher rank than Elijah or Isaiah; but still, in universal hebrew estimation, *a mere human prophet*?

On such principles, the circumstance is utterly unnatural and overcharged and incredible. But, if we adopt the opinion; that, in the person of their Messiah, the Jews expected a permanent manifestation of that exalted Messenger of Jehovah, whom they knew to be the acknowledged God of their fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and whom they knew to have been worshipped by their ancestors without any imputation of idolatry whenever he appeared upon earth: if we adopt *this* opinion, which exactly accords with and explains the recorded belief of the whole nation, that, *When the Christ should come, no man could adequately know whence he was*: if, I say, we adopt *this* opinion, all will be perfectly clear and reasonable and intelligible.

The ancient Jews expected: that *The Messiah would be a permanent manifestation of the worshipped Angel of Jehovah.*

Hence the blasphemy, of which Jesus was said to have been guilty, and for which he was finally put to death, was evidently, in *their* apprehension, *a claim of proper and essential divinity.*

For, even according to their own explicit declaration on a prior occasion, as he could not claim to be the Messiah, without, at the same time, asserting his own godhead: so he could not claim to be the Messiah, without, at the same time, being guilty of that alleged species of blasphemy which consisted in making himself God.

5. In this view of his pretensions they were doubtless confirmed by the very tenor of his own language, when he was solemnly adjured by the high-priest to declare whether he was indeed the Messiah.



*Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man, sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.*

He was adjured to declare, whether he was the Christ the Son of God : and he not only answered in the affirmative ; but he also appropriated to himself the description of that august Being, whom Daniel beheld in the visions of the night, coming with the clouds of heaven, and taking his regal station before the Ancient of days.

The whole amount of his claim was now as clear as the light of the firmament. With a sensation of inexpressible horror, the high-priest forthwith rent his clothes, and exclaimed *Blasphemy*. The cry was caught up by the Sanhedrim, and was reëchoed by the whole mass of the people. *We have a law : and, by our law, he ought to die ; BECAUSE he made himself the Son of God.* In thus claiming the Messiahship, he has been guilty of *blasphemy : BECAUSE that he, being a man, has made himself God.*

6. Such was clearly the principle, on which our Lord was adjudged to be guilty of blasphemy : and it must be confessed, that, had he been a mere man, he *would* have been guilty ; for, on the scheme of modern Antitrinitarianism, I see not the judicial possibility of his acquittal.

But no charge of this description could have been rationally or even plausibly brought against him, unless the ancient Jews had held the divinity of their expected Messiah.

Therefore I see not what conclusion can be legitimately drawn from the premises, save that such was actually their doctrine at the time when our Lord appeared upon earth.

7. It will of course be recollected, that, with the abstract truth or falsehood of the doctrine, I have, in the *present* discussion, no immediate concern.

I am *now* treating, not of *the soundness of a doctrine*, but of *the reality of a fact*.

Dr. Priestley has asserted, that *The Jews NEVER expected any other than a man like themselves in the character of the Messiah.*



Here we have a simple question of *historical fact*: and this question *exclusively* is now before us.

II. In my view of this question I am the more confirmed by yet an additional circumstance, which is set forth in another passage of the New Testament.

The Jewish contemporaries of our Lord AVOWEDLY held: that *The claim of a proper Sonship to God was equivalent to a direct claim of equality with God.*

But they likewise held: that *The character of a proper Sonship to God was inherent in the nature of the Messiah.*

Therefore they held: that *The Messiah was equal with God.*

And thence, of very necessity, they also held, as they themselves expressly declared: that *Any mere man, who claimed the Messiahship, was guilty of blasphemy; because that he made himself God, while yet he was no more than a mere man.*

1. *The Jews, we read, sought the more to kill him: because he had not only broken the sabbath; but said also, that God was his own proper Father (πατέρα ἰδίου), making himself equal with God. John v. 18.*

2. Now we all know full well: that *to call God our father, simply in that general sense wherein the phrase occurs in the Lord's prayer and wherein the very Jews themselves were accustomed to use it on their own behalf (John viii. 41.), is by no means to make ourselves equal with him.*

But Christ, as he was understood by the Jews (no matter, so far as the *present* argument is concerned, whether they understood him aright or not), so called God his own proper Father, as, in *their* apprehension, to claim an equality with God.

Yet I think it evident: that no such idea could ever have been excited in their minds by the language of our Lord, unless ANTECEDENTLY they had believed *in the abstract*; that *The Messiah, inasmuch as he is the proper Son of God, is, in that precise capacity, equal with him.*

But no one can be equal with God the Father, unless also he be himself very God.

Hence, from this yet additional unexceptionable evidence of

the New Testament, I cannot but deem it clear: that *The ancient Jews maintained the divinity of their expected Messiah, identifying him with that apparent Messenger of Jehovah who is declared to have been the God of their fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.* Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. Compare Hos. xii. 3—5. Exod. iii. 2—22. Gen. xvi. 7—13. Judg. ii. 1—5. vi. 11—24. xiii. 2—23. Isaiah lxiii. 9. See below, append. ii. numb. 10.

---

#### SECTION IV.

##### EVIDENCE FROM JUSTIN MARTYR AND MAIMONIDES.

---

From a perusal of their own Scriptures and from the concomitant instruction of the Levitical Priesthood, the Jewish contemporaries of our Lord had, I think, derived those opinions respecting the promised Messiah, which may be collected without much difficulty from the history contained in the Gospels.

At a subsequent period, hatred of Christianity led to the abandonment, or rather (to speak more accurately) the suppression and concealment, of the ancient doctrine of the Hebrew Church. What had formerly been taught unreservedly to all the people, was gradually locked up and finally hidden in the Cabbala of the Rabbins: and the natural consequence was, that, in the course of some generations, it became, to the Laity at least, utterly unknown.

Yet, that the old doctrine was secretly preserved, is, I think, indisputable. To say nothing of the writings of Philo, proof upon proof, from the very Works of the Rabbins, has been accumulated by the industry of Dr. Allix: and, when I consider the direct concurrent evidence afforded by the Evangelical History itself, I cannot but build much upon the citations produced by that learned author. These citations tell their own story: and, if Dr. Allix had done nothing more than

simply collect and publish them without a single note or comment of his own, they alone, unaided and undiscussed and unexplained, would have been amply sufficient to corroborate and to verify the attestation borne so pointedly by the Gospels.

I am the more led to attend to them, from the evidence afforded at a very early period by Justin Martyr, and from a remarkable statement or confession made by Maimonides.

I. Justin's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew was carried on in the year 136: and it exhibits, in a curious manner, the state of theological opinion, which then prevailed among the members of the house of Israel.

This discussion took place at so early a day, that we may reasonably expect to find in it some traces of the system which appears with such prominence in the Evangelical History: for, though the Jews had been desolated and dispersed by Titus in the year 70, and though they were in the midst of their troubles from Adrian at the very time when Justin was discoursing with Trypho; yet, even shattered as their polity was, and distracted as was their condition, we can scarcely believe, that the doctrine of their fathers, if it were indeed their doctrine, could so soon have been entirely lost or abandoned or concealed.

Under such circumstances, an examination of the Dialogue cannot but be both interesting and important.

1. We may, I think, clearly enough learn two points from this venerable monument of Christian antiquity.

(1.) The first is: that *The doctrine of the Messiah's mere humanity was then, among the more freethinking of the Hebrew Laity, beginning to supplant the ancient doctrine of his divinity.*

(2.) The second is: that *The old doctrine of the Messiah's divinity, as it prevailed a century earlier in the days of our Lord, was still maintained by the Rabbins and thence apparently by the bulk of the people; that The subsequent system of concealment and suppression had not then commenced; and, consequently, that, The existence of the doctrine among the Rabbins was well known, both to intelligent Christians like Justin, and likewise to the Jewish Laity themselves.*



2. Respecting the *grounds* of the doctrine, Trypho, Justin's antagonist, appears to have been somewhat ignorant: and, though he materially improves in temper toward the close of the Dialogue; yet, in the course of it, he is not a little conceited and opinionated.

(1.) His ignorance is evinced from the wonder which he expresses at the line of argument taken up by Justin.

That learned Father, mighty as he shews himself to be in the Scriptures, undertakes to prove, even from the writings of the Old Testament: that *The promised Messiah was that Messenger of Jehovah, who yet himself was no other than Jehovah, who conversed with the ancient patriarchs, and who was worshipped by the house of Israel under the special aspect of the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.*

In reply to the reasoning of Justin, Trypho exhibits a sort of stupid amazement: declaring, that he had never before heard any person, either thus examining, or thus inquiring, or thus demonstrating.

Ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὰς οὕτως ἐπικινδύνους ἀποκρίσεις οὐκ ἔσμεν ἔτοιμοι· ἐπειδὴ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ταῦτα ἐρευνῶντος, ἢ ζητοῦντος, ἢ ἀποδεικνύντος, ἀκηκόαμεν. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 215.

This answer of Trypho certainly indicates, either his own carelessness, or the discontinuance (for whatever reason) of rabbinical instruction. Yet, even under every disadvantage of the times, had his information been a little more extensive, he might have encountered the same line of argument in the Works of one of his own countrymen: for Philo, who flourished about a century anterior to him, would have taught him, that Justin could neither claim originality nor could be truly charged with singularity.

(2.) The ignorance of Trypho, as might naturally be anticipated, makes him not a little conceited and opinionated.

*As for what you assert, says he; that this person, being the Messiah, preëxisted as God before all ages, and that he then submitted to be born a man, and yet that he was not man from man in the ordinary course of nature: the whole of such asser-*



*tion strikes me to be, not only a paradox, but even absolute nonsense.*

Τὸ γὰρ λέγειν σε, προϋπάρχειν Θεὸν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων τοῦτον τὸν Χριστόν, εἶτα καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον ὑπομῆναι, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μόνον παράδοξον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μωρόν. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 207.

(3.) After this ebullition of spleen and vanity, Trypho, in his next reply, goes on to state: that, *In the universal opinion of the Jews, the Messiah would be a man born from men; and that Elias would come to anoint him to his high office.*

Καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἡμεῖς, τὸν Χριστόν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡλίαν χρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα. Dial. Oper. p. 207, 208.

Now it is a curious circumstance, that, while Trypho petulantly rejects the very idea, of *Jesus* being the Messiah, and (in that character) of his preëxisting as God before all ages: he does not venture to say, that his brethren universally denied the godhead of *that Messiah* whom they themselves expected.

*We all expect,* says he, *that the Messiah will be born a man from men.*

But he does not say: *We all deny his divinity.*

This last proposition, be it observed, is by no means necessarily involved in the former proposition. For, as Justin believed, that *Jesus was God incarnate, born from the Virgin*, and therefore (under *that* aspect) a human being born from a human being: so the belief, stated by Trypho as universal among his brethren, that *Messiah would be a human being born from human beings*, though it might exclude the doctrine of an incarnation of the Godhead from a virgin, does not of necessity exclude the doctrine of an incarnation of the Godhead in the course of natural conception and parturition.

(4.) Trypho *himself*, and probably his companions at the debate with Justin, had adopted, precisely in the tone and after the manner of the modern Antitrinitarian School, the doctrine of the Messiah's bare humanity: for he says to his opponent; *You are attempting to demonstrate a point incredible and well*

*nigh impossible, that God submitted to be born and to become man.*

Ἄπιστον γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον σχεδὸν πρᾶγμα ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀποδεικνύναι, ὅτι Θεὸς ὑπέμεινε γεννηθῆναι καὶ ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι. Dial. Oper. p. 228.

But, though such were the avowed sentiments of the *individual*: I have thought it right, on account of what occurs in a subsequent part of the Dialogue, to point out the preceding cautious peculiarity of his language; in which he ventures not to assert, that the Jews of his time *universally* denied the divinity of the Messiah.

3. Justin, evidently bearing in mind what his antagonist had said, and probably understanding it as a direct affirmation that the Jews *universally* rejected the doctrine of the Messiah's divinity, attacks him, in due time, upon this very position.

*Whenever, says he, we Christians produce to your Rabbins those Scriptures, which unequivocally exhibit the Messiah, as liable to suffering, and yet as being adorable and as being God; those Scriptures, I mean, which I have already cited to yourself: they are compelled to acknowledge, that these relate indeed to the Messiah in the abstract; but they dare to say, that this person, namely Jesus of Nazareth, is not the Messiah in the concrete. Nevertheless, they fairly acknowledge: that the Messiah himself will come, and will suffer, and will reign, and will be GOD WORTHY OF ALL ADORATION. Now this, surely, is, on their part, most ridiculous and absurd.*

Ἄς δ' ἂν λέγωμεν αὐτοῖς γραφὰς, αἱ διαρρήδην τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ παθητὸν καὶ προσκυνητὸν καὶ Θεὸν ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ἅς καὶ προανιστόρησα ὑμῖν· ταύτας εἰς Χριστὸν μὲν εἰρηῆσθαι ἀναγκαζόμενοι συντίθενται, τοῦτον δὲ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν τολμῶσι λέγειν. Ἐλεύσεσθαι δὲ, καὶ παθεῖν, καὶ βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ προσκυνητὸν γενέσθαι Θεὸν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ὅπερ γελοῖον καὶ ἀνόητον. Dial. Oper. p. 229.

Here we have a direct assertion, openly made by Justin in the presence of Trypho and his companions: that *The Rabbins, however they might expect the incarnation of their Messiah to take place, whether from a virgin or in the ordinary course of*

*parturition, acknowledged, on the authority of their own Scriptures, that, although he would be destined to suffering, still he would be* GOD HIMSELF WORTHY OF ALL ADORATION.

Justin, with much reason, urges the inconsistency of the Rabbins: because, while, *on account of his sufferings*, they objected to Jesus of Nazareth being received as the Messiah and thence as THE ADORABLE GOD; they themselves, all the while confessed, that their own expected Messiah, though GOD WORTHY OF ALL ADORATION, would nevertheless be *liable to suffering*. But still the assertion, we see, is the broad and naked assertion of A FACT: a fact, accordingly, which Trypho was obviously reduced either to confess or to deny.

*You yourself*, says Justin, *may allege it to be a point incredible and well nigh impossible: that God submitted to be born and to become man. But, though such may be your individual opinion, it is not the doctrine of your Rabbins. They fairly acknowledge: that your expected Messiah will come, and will suffer, and will reign, and will be* GOD WORTHY OF ALL ADORATION. *If he will suffer: he must be man; for God, as God, cannot suffer. If he be God and yet man also, as your Rabbins confess: God must submit to be born and to become man; the very point, which you allege to be incredible and well nigh impossible. In a word, though your Rabbins deny Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah: they acknowledge, that the Messiah himself will be* GOD TO WHOM ALL ADORATION IS DUE FROM HIS CREATURES.

(1.) Such is the FACT asserted by Justin.

In what manner, then, does Trypho deal with this bold allegation of his antagonist?

Does he promptly ridicule it, to the high enjoyment of his hebrew companions, as a matter too absurd for the belief even of a Christian? Does he at once deny it, as a notorious and impudent fabrication? Does he readily retort: that the Rabbins never made, or ever thought of making, such an acknowledgment? Does he deservedly censure Justin for his gross controversial dishonesty? Does he, at the same time, express



his amazement at the infatuated hardyhood, which could gratuitously hazard an assertion, so liable to easy and immediate confutation and exposure?

(2.) Truly, nothing of the sort.

To deny it, he ventures not : to confess it, after his own rash and presumptuous language, he is apparently unwilling. Hence, however singular it may appear to those who think with Dr. Priestley, he actually passes it over in total silence : and thus he tacitly acknowledges its perfect accuracy.

He could, with ease and unconstrained freedom, ridicule the idea : that *this person*, as he contemptuously styles Jesus of Nazareth, should be the Messiah, and that he should have pre-existed as God before all ages. But he does not deny : that, in the scripturally formed judgment of the Rabbins, the Messiah, though a man destined to suffering, would yet be GOD WORTHY OF ALL ADORATION.

The taciturnity of Trypho is imitated by his hebrew companions. They all equally heard the assertion of Justin : but, to controvert it, not a mouth was opened. With one consent, it is suffered to pass unnoticed and uncontradicted.

(3.) The whole matter is remarkable : but it is no more than what we might have expected from a School, which, about 136 years before, had rightly applied to the Messiah a prophecy, wherein the goings forth of that expected ruler in Israel are declared to have been *of old, from everlasting*. Matt. ii. 1—6. Micah v. 1, 2.

In fact, this identical prophecy sets forth, in continued series, the two precise points, which Justin asserts the Rabbins to have deduced from the Hebrew Scriptures.

The Messiah, they confessed, was destined to suffer : yet, as they also confessed, that same Messiah would be GOD WORTHY OF ALL ADORATION.

Accordingly, Micah foretells : that *The judge of Israel should be smitten, with a rod, upon the cheek* ; and yet that *His goings forth should be from of old, from everlasting*.

II. As the doctrine of the divinity of the Messiah was be-



ginning to be denied by some of the Jewish Laity in the time of Trypho, though it was still confessed by the Rabbins to be the ancient doctrine of their own Scriptures: so, through hatred to Christianity, the Rabbins themselves gradually suppressed and concealed it, until at length all knowledge of it was lost save among those who were initiated into what they had constituted the mysteries of their secret discipline.

1. This is no mere phantasy of my own: my authority is one of the greatest of the rabbinical writers. The system of concealment, and the very principle upon which that system has been adopted, are most fully and explicitly acknowledged by the celebrated Moses Maimonides.

*All things, says he, which are spoken in the work of the creation, are not to be understood according to the letter, as the vulgar imagine. For, otherwise, our wise men would not have commanded them to be concealed: nor would they have used so much care in hiding them in parables: nor would they have so studiously prohibited all discourse concerning them before the unskilful multitude. But, in truth, the literal interpretations of such matters either produce evil thoughts and imaginations and opinions concerning the nature of God; or they overturn the foundations of the Law, and bring in some heresy.*

*Whoever, then, possesses any knowledge in these points, let him beware of divulging it: as we have often admonished, in our own Commentary on the Mishna.*

*Hence also our Rabbins say, in express terms: that, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK TO THIS POINT, IT IS FOR THE GLORY OF THE LORD TO CONCEAL THE WORD.*

*But they have inserted this note after those particulars, which are written concerning the works of the sixth day: whence, the truth of what we have said is clearly apparent.*

*Yet, because he, who has gained some perfection, is bound also to communicate it to others: therefore it must needs be, that those, who have learned any such secrets, whether by their own industry or by the aid of a preceptor, should sometimes declare a few of them. Still, however, this must not be done openly and*

*distinctly, but covertly and only by signs and hints; such as may be found scattered and mixed with other things in the words of our more celebrated and more excellent Rabbins. I, therefore, as you will observe, in these mysteries, often mention only a single word or saying, which may serve as a hinge to the whole matter: the rest I leave to those, to whom they ought to be left.*

Non omnia secundum literam intelligenda et accipienda esse, quæ dicuntur in opere *Bereschith* seu creationis, sicut vulgus hominum existimat. Nam alias non præcepissent sapientes illa occultari; neque tanta cura in eis abscondendis et parabolis involvendis usi fuissent; neque etiam tam studiosè prohibuissent, ne de iis sermo fieret coram imperita plebe. Sensus enim illorum literales vel gignunt pravas cogitationès, imaginationes, et opiniones, de natura Dei Optimi Maximi: vel certe fundamenta Legis evertunt, hæresimque aliquam introducunt.

Quicumque vero aliquam in illis scientiam habet, cavere debet ne illa divulget; sicut sæpius monuimus in Commentario nostro in *Mischnam*.

Hinc claris verbis dicunt quoque Rabbini nostri: A PRINCIPIO LIBRI USQUE HUC, GLORIA DOMINI EST CELARE VERBUM.

Dixerunt autem hoc post ea, quæ scripta sunt de operibus sexti diei: ex quo patet veritas illius, quod nos diximus.

Quia vero is, qui perfectionem aliquam nactus est, tenetur et obligatur illam aliis quoque infundere et communicare:—ideo fieri non potest, quin illi, qui aliquid ex secretis istis, sive proprio Marte et industria, sive ope præceptoris alicujus, apprehenderunt, nonnunquam pauca quædam dicant. Verum non apertè et clarè hoc faciendum est, sed tectè, et non nisi per signa et indicia, qualia sparsim et aliis rebus permixta, in verbis celebriorum ac præstantiorum Rabbiorum nostrorum, inveniuntur. Ideoque et ego, ut observabis, in istis mysteriis, sæpe unius alicujus verbi vel dicti solum mentionem facio, quod cardo quasi est totius rei: cætera vero illis relinquo, quibus relinquenda sunt. Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. par. ii. c. 29. p. 273, 274.

2. In this very remarkable passage, the whole rabbinical system stands confessed and revealed.

It is allowed to be a system of studied mysterious concealment: and the hints, which are dropped by this eminently learned Jew as to the principle on which it was adopted, are so perfectly intelligible, that he who runs may read.

The true explanation of the plural phraseology, which is employed by Moses in the history of the creation, and to which Maimonides palpably refers, was on no account, it seems, to be communicated to the profane vulgar: lest it should introduce heretical sentiments concerning the nature of God, and should subvert the foundation of the Law. To the privileged Rabbins alone such knowledge was to be confined: and, for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the uninitiated Laity, some other exposition was to be devised, which might preserve them in their state of happy and unsuspecting ignorance.

Accordingly, upon this principle Maimonides himself acts with perfect consistency.

While he hints at the secret and concealed interpretation possessed by none save the rabbinical epopts, he himself kindly accommodates the vulgar with the idle unscriptural fancy of the house of judgment. *Mor. Nevoch. par. ii. c. 6.*

3. The confession of Maimonides perfectly establishes those citations from the Rabbins, which have been made with so much copiousness by the learned research of Dr. Allix: while the undisguised purport of the citations fully explains, if explanation were necessary, the drift of the confession.

From the *confession* we learn; that the Rabbins have long had a system of concealed interpretation, which respects the mode of God's existence as set forth in the plural phraseology employed by Moses in the history of the creation: from the *citations* we learn the specific drift and nature of that occult system.

Finally, the whole matter is confirmed and demonstrated, by the testimony which is borne to the doctrine of the ancient



Levitical Church, both by the inspired Evangelical History which is possessed by the Christian Church, and by the uncontradicted allegation of Justin Martyr.

III. I cannot refrain from here placing upon record an assertion of singular intrepidity, which has been made by that zealous Antitrinitarian Mr. Haynes, and which has been cited with entire approbation by Mr. Lindsey.

*It is very remarkable, says he, that, in ALL the books of the Old and New Testament, wheresoever the sacred writers introduce Almighty God speaking of himself, it is by the singular pronouns I and ME. Lindsey's Sequel to Apol. p. 27.*

1. This REMARKABLE FACT is deficient in nothing, save the single article of *veracity*: in *hardyhood*, the assertion is superabundant.

Did Mr. Haynes and Mr. Lindsey imagine: that their readers, being altogether unacquainted with the Bible, were prepared to swallow whatever fictions they might be pleased to assert?

Or is it possible: that they themselves could be wholly ignorant of the existence of texts; in which God, whose very hebrew name is most commonly written in the plural number and is constructed both with plural adjectives and plural participles, actually speaks of himself by the plural pronouns US and OUR?

(1.) *God said: Let us make man in OUR image, after OUR likeness. Gen. i. 26.*

(2.) *And the Lord God said: Behold, the man is become as ONE of US. Gen. iii. 22.*

(3.) *And the Lord said:—Go to, let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. Gen. xi. 6, 7.*

(4.) *I heard the voice of the Lord, saying: Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Isaiah vi. 8.*

2. As texts of this description have been duly commented upon by Justin and others of the early Christian Fathers: so they have not been left unnoticed by the Jewish Rabbins Huna and Samlai and Moses Haddarschan and Jochanan and others

of the same School. Raymund. Martin. Pug. Fid. par. iii. c. 3. p. 484—490.

To enter upon them, is not my present business. I merely record: that Mr. Haynes and Mr. Lindsey adduce, as an overwhelming argument in favour of Antitrinitarianism, THE VERY REMARKABLE FACT; that, *In ALL the books of the Old and New Testament, wheresoever the sacred writers introduce Almighty God speaking of himself, it is by the singular pronouns I and ME.*

Such is the FACT and such is the *argument*, by which two modern Antitrinitarians establish and defend their system.

---

## SECTION V.

### EVIDENCE FROM THE FLUCTUATING CONDUCT OF OUR LORD'S DISCIPLES.

---

Whatever sentiments, respecting the Messiah, were entertained by the Jewish nation at large: the same sentiments, we may be sure, must have been entertained by our Lord's disciples in particular.

Hence, when they acknowledged him to be the Messiah, they must have deemed him an incarnate manifestation of that Angel of Jehovah, who by their ancestors was adored as Jehovah himself, and who by Jacob was confessed to be the God of his fathers Abraham and Isaac. Gen. xlvi. 15, 16. xxxii. 24—30. Hos. xii. 3—5.

I. That their belief was mingled with much uncertainty and hesitation, and that it was from time to time accompanied by many painful and anxious misgivings, will probably be doubted by no person.

1. Such a state of mind would only be the natural result of those additional opinions, which, in common with the great mass

of their countrymen, until their minds were fully enlightened, they held respecting the Messiah.

It was confidently believed and expected: that the promised Saviour would appear in the dignified character of a mighty and victorious prince, who would deliver the Jews from the hated yoke of the Romans, and who would speedily make them the triumphant head of the nations.

2. Many familiar indications occur throughout the Gospels, that this was the original faith of our Lord's disciples: and every thing, which concerned his actual appearance, served to perplex and stagger that faith.

It was not, I apprehend, that they had any doubt, as to the essential character of the Messiah *in the abstract*: but they very often, I believe, doubted *in the concrete*; whether Jesus of Nazareth were the Messiah.

On the one hand, his astonishing miracles, and that mild though irresistible superiority which as a perfect matter of course he evidently assumed, forced them, as it were, to confess, that he could not but be the Christ the Son of God.

Yet, on the other hand, his lowly and unambitious appearance, so totally different from what they had been led to anticipate, often, from time to time, induced them to suspect that they were deceived and had been mistaken.

II. This internal war of opinions will, I think, be evident to any person, who reads the Evangelical History with even a moderate degree of attention: and it will account for much of that singular variation of conduct, which so remarkably characterised the collective body of the disciples.

1. Nathanael, compelled by an invincible demonstration of our Lord's omniscience, confessed him to be the Son of God, even the promised Messiah-king of Israel: and, in return, Christ strengthened his faith by appropriating to himself the mysterious vision which Jacob beheld in Bethel. John i. 45—51. Gen. xxviii. 10—19. Hos. xii. 3—5.

Yet, in no very long time after this occurrence, many of the disciples, offended at certain doctrines which they heard in-



culcated, went back, and walked no more with him. John vi. 66.

2. On that last occasion, Jesus appealed to the twelve, whether they also would go away : and Peter then, in the name of his apostolic brethren, professed a firm and assured belief, that he was Christ the Son of the living God. John vi. 67—69.

Yet this very Peter, when commanded to leave the boat and to approach his Lord who was walking upon the surface of the lake, evinced a remarkable mixture of belief and unbelief. Nor was it, until Christ brought him safe into the vessel and stilled the tempest by a word, that the hitherto terrified and doubting disciples came and worshipped him, saying, what in hebrew phraseology was an acknowledgment of his divinity : *Of a truth, thou art the Son of God.* Matt. xiv. 24—33. See below, append. ii. numb. 10.

3. The same mingled faith and uncertainty we may behold very strongly exemplified in a subsequent part of the sacred history.

(1.) When Jesus was come into the coasts of Cesarèa Philippi, he inquired of his disciples what character he generally bore throughout the nation at large.

The reply was : that some believed him to be John the Baptist ; some, Elias ; and others, Jeremias or one of the prophets.

Upon this, he put to them the direct question : *But whom say ye that I am ?*

Here eleven out of the twelve disciples remained silent : while Peter, with a faith surpassing that of his brethren, readily answered ; *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*

This reply procured for him a very remarkable attestation from the mouth of Jesus himself. *Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* Matt. xvi. 13—20.

The attestation before us is the more extraordinary, because Peter was by no means the *first* person who had made this confession. In truth, it had *already* been made, both by Nathanael individually, and by all the twelve Apostles collectively in the

ship. Hence we are imperatively led to inquire, what our Lord can have meant, when he declared : that Peter's confession was revealed to him, not by flesh and blood, but by his Father which is in heaven.

(2.) The ground and purport of our Lord's declaration I take to have been this.

Hitherto, the confession had been made, so far as respected Jesus *personally*, with a considerable portion of doubt and distrust and hesitation.

That the *Messiah* was the Son of the living God, or the worshipped Angel of Jehovah, or (as the ancient Paraphrases express it) the Word of the Lord ; the disciples, like all the rest of their countrymen, were fully persuaded : and, in consequence, whenever they inclined to believe that *Jesus* was the Messiah, they forthwith confessed *him* to be the Son of the living God and the divine King of Israel.

But this belief, unfixed and unstable, was perpetually fluctuating.

They had no assurance, that *Jesus was* the Messiah, beyond what arose from their own reasoning on his character and his miracles. In other words, the specific application of the Messiahship to the precise individual Jesus of Nazareth was revealed to them *only* by flesh and blood : for the *sole* ground, on which they could take up this opinion, was the exercise of their own unassisted intellect.

Hence, as might naturally be expected, they sometimes believed, and they sometimes doubted.

But, at length, it pleased the Father which is in heaven to convey into the mind of Peter the full assurance of a divine revelation. Every doubt as to the proper ascription of the Messiahship being thus removed, the Apostle, not merely in consequence of his own reasoning upon probabilities, but under the immediate influence of a divine revelation, now confidently exclaimed : *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*

The confession of St. Peter, in short, was not a bare confession of the Messiah's divinity *in the abstract*: for *that* doctrine,

as we have seen, was, in the time of our Lord, held by the whole Jewish nation. Neither was it a simple hesitating declaration, founded on apparently sufficient evidence: that Jesus of Nazareth, *in the concrete*, was the expected Messiah. But it was a heaven-inspired acknowledgment, free from every shadow of doubt and perplexity: that the person, who then stood before them under the aspect of a man, was the Messiah, in that precise divine character of the Son of the living God, a filial emanation from the substance of the paternal fountain of Deity, under which he was universally expected.

III. It is observable: that, so far from *correcting* the general belief in the important article of the Messiah's preëxistence and divinity according to the specifically applied prophecy of Micah (Micah v. 1, 2. Matt. ii. 1—6), our Lord, by the praise which he bestows both upon the confession of Peter and upon the yet earlier parallel confession of Nathanael, clearly and distinctly *confirms* it.

Nor does he confirm it merely *in words*: on the contrary, *by an action*, at once most extraordinary and most significant, which followed the confession of Peter at an interval of only six days, he establishes, both the *general* doctrine of the Messiah's divinity, and the *particular* ascription of the Messiahship to himself.

In the remarkable event of the Transfiguration, Christ declared his godhead after a manner, which no devout and intelligent Jew could misunderstand. He appeared, radiant in all the glory of the Shechinah: as Daniel beheld him, in the visions of the night; as Stephen saw him, immediately before his martyrdom; as Paul viewed him, on his journey to Damascus; and as the worshipped Angel of Jehovah was wont, to display himself to the patriarchs, or to blaze in the burning bush, or to gleam from the cloudy pillar of fire. Moses and Elias were his attendants, thus fully confirming his claim of the Messiahship: and, to strengthen the faith of the witnessing Apostles and to remove the stumbling-block of his approaching crucifixion which had given such heavy offence to Peter even after



his inspired confession, they spake, we are told, of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. The intent of the vision could not be mistaken by those, who, as Justin speaks, believed, from the ancient prophecies, that *the Messiah would be God worthy of all adoration*: and, as the three witnesses were charged to communicate it not until after his death, we may be sure; that, when he was risen from the dead, the important communication would be no longer, even for a moment, withheld. See my Sermon on the Transfiguration. Serm. vol. ii. serm. 4.

---

## SECTION VI.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

---

I have now given a sufficient answer to the objection of Dr. Priestley: that, *In Holy Scripture, we can find recorded no trace of the prodigious change of ideas which must have occurred, when the Apostles, ceasing to view Christ as a mere man like themselves, began additionally to esteem him the Most High God.*

I. The truth is: from the time of their acknowledging him to be the Messiah, they never, save when their concrete faith in his own particular Messiahship failed, viewed him as a mere man like themselves.

1. In their minds, as in the minds of all their countrymen, the two ideas, of THE MESSIAH and THE WORSHIPPED ANGEL OF JEHOVAH, of THE PROMISED RULER IN ISRAEL and THE BEING WHOSE GOINGS FORTH ARE FROM EVERLASTING, of THE PREDICTED SHILOH and (as Zechariah speaks) JEHOVAH SENT BY JEHOVAH, were inseparable.

Hence it were most strange, if, in Holy Scripture, we *could* find recorded a *change* of sentiment, which in reality *never* occurred.

2. Man, indeed, true and proper man, the Apostles, no

doubt, believed our Lord to be: for, in the language of St. John when opposing the error of the Docetæ, they had heard, and they had seen with their eyes, and they had looked upon, and they had even handled with their hands, the Word of life.

But then they deemed him no other, than the visible and tangible man, with whom Jacob wrestled, whom both he and Hosea have declared to be God, and whom (in his capacity of the eternal Son of the eternal Father) John himself determines to be God with God in the beginning and from the beginning. 1 John i. 1—3. Gen. xxxii. 24—30. xlviii. 15, 16. Hos. xii. 3—5. John i. 1—3.

That such, accordingly, was the faith of the primitive Church at a time so early that it could not but have been received from the Apostles, is most abundantly manifest from the writings of Justin: for, as we have seen, between Justin and St. John, there cannot have been more than a single intervenient link of communication. Hence we shall not wonder to have found, that Christ's personal converse with the ancient patriarchs was even introduced, as an article of faith, into one of the primitive ecclesiastical Symbols preserved by Tertullian. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 74, 75. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 278—281. Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. Oper. p. 100.

II. Agreeably to the view of the question which has been here taken, we have positive demonstration: that the doctrine of our Lord's divinity was known to the Apostles even *before* the descent of the Holy Ghost, whose special office was to *teach them all things* and to *bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever Christ had said unto them.* John xiv. 26.

This is evident, as I have already elsewhere observed, from the recorded fact of Thomas styling him *his Lord and his God*: for the passage, in which that fact is set forth, was understood and expounded by the doctors of the primitive Church precisely as it is understood and expounded by every modern Catholic.

Hence, of course, *after* the descent of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine could not but be, *a fortiori*, perfectly well known and firmly established.

Accordingly, in the narrative of one of the earliest mentioned subsequent occurrences, Stephen, in the agonies of martyrdom, after beholding Jesus in the divine glory of the Shechinah, solemnly invoked him, that he would receive his parting soul and that he would forgive his blood-thirsty murderers: and so notorious was this primitive rite of *invoking Christ as God* (to adopt the phraseology of the depositions taken before Pliny), that the very first name, by which believers seem to have been distinguished, was the appellation of *Those who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus*.

III. In exact agreement with these facts, and in perfect accordance with the testimony of those very ancient Fathers Justin and Irenæus; the Apostles, instead of never mentioning Christ save as a mere man, the assertion which Dr. Priestley has been pleased to make (*Hist. of Corrupt. Introduct. Works*, vol. v. p. 14.), both style him *God*, and appropriate to him the very name of *Jehovah*, and ascribe to him all the attributes of the Deity, with so much positiveness and clearness and decision, that it requires the most strange and unnatural glosses to evade the force of their testimony.

I know perfectly well the mode, in which Dr. Priestley and his associates deal with such texts: but, as the universal exposition of them by the primitive Church is still upon record, we do not conceive ourselves to act irrationally, in preferring *evidence to mere dogmatism*, in adopting the *ancient* rather than the *modern* interpretation.

At all events, Dr. Priestley can have no right, in a professed historical Work, to come forward and to declare, without the slightest qualification: that *the Apostles of Christ never spoke of him save as a mere man like themselves*. He must have *known*, and he ought to have *specified*, that, although such might be *his own* arbitrary view of the apostolic language, no one, either in ancient or in modern times, agreed with him, save only the members of that small party in which he ministered.



## NUMBER V.

RESPECTING THE TRUE IMPORT OF THE PASSAGE CONTAINED IN  
HEB. i. 1, 2.

---

IT has been urged by Dr. Priestley, and other writers of the same School: that the doctrine of the primitive Church, relative to the frequent personal appearances of Christ to the ancient patriarchs under the character of Jehovah the Angel or Messenger of Jehovah, as distinctly set forth by Justin and Irenæus and Clement and Tertullian and others of the early Antenicene Fathers, is irreconcilable with the exordium of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

*God, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath, in these last days, spoken unto us by his Son.* Heb. i. 1, 2.

From this passage, it is argued in manner following.

*The personal appearance of Christ in the last days* is here placed contradistinctively to *The personal appearance of the prophets in former days.*

But, if Christ had *himself* personally appeared in former days: the studied antithesis of the Apostle would plainly be altogether unfounded.

Therefore, consistently with the language of the Apostle, there could not have been any personal appearance of Christ in former days.

Whence it will follow: that Justin, and the other ancient Fathers who agree with him, cannot have propounded the true doctrine of the primitive Church; but must have given us nothing better, than their own unchastised imaginings.

The present objection, which was urged by the earlier Soci-nians long before the time of Dr. Priestley, is somewhat plausible: but it will not bear the test of a close examination.

I. Its conclusion, that *The doctrine in question cannot have been the doctrine of the primitive Church, however it might have been started by certain speculative individuals*, is contradicted by the direct evidence of a fact.

I might fairly argue: that, in the very nature of things, Justin could not have advanced the doctrine in a public Apology and under a plural phraseology, which is actually the case; had he not been well aware, that he was speaking the sentiments of the entire Church on behalf of which he stepped forth as its accredited defender.

But, in the present matter, I require not the argument from inference. The doctrine is avowedly and openly propounded, as an article of faith, in an ancient Symbol preserved by Tertullian.

Id Verbum Filius ejus appellatum: ejus in nomine Dei variè visum patriarchis. Reg. Fid. vetust. apud Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. § 4. Oper. p. 100.

Now it is clear: that a doctrine, *rejected* by the early Catholic Church, could not possibly have appeared, *as an article of faith*, in a public Symbol or Creed or Confession put forth authoritatively by that identical Church.

Therefore the occurrence of the doctrine in the Symbol proves, that the early Catholic Church taught and maintained it.

II. But it will be said: that, whether the early Catholic Church did or did not, teach and maintain it; still, if it contradicts the decision of an Apostle, we cannot receive it as a genuine dogma of Christianity.

1. Should this unhappily prove to be the case, we must then, I fear, abandon a very excellent canon laid down by Dr. Priestley himself.

For the canon asserts the moral impossibility of error, respecting the true nature of Christ, on the part of that early

community, which received its doctrines immediately from the hands of the Apostles.

Whereas the result shews: that, in despite of the canon, that early community had adopted, even as an article of faith, a very considerable error combated by St. Paul in the Exordium of his Epistle to the Hebrews. Priestley's Reply to Animad. Introd. sect iv. Works, vol. xviii. p. 23.

2. But, in truth, we need be under no apprehension for the credit of the canon, which is certainly one of the very best productions of Dr. Priestley. The objection, at present before us, has been framed upon a complete misconception of the nature and purport of St. Paul's antithesis.

(1.) That antithesis does not respect *The personal appearance of Christ*, as opposed to *The personal appearance of the prophets*. But it respects *The immediate ministration of Christ in his character of the personal introducer of the New Covenant*, as opposed to *The immediate ministration of Moses and other prophets in their character of the personal teachers of the Old Covenant*.

(2.) Here lies the real intended contradistinction between Christ and the prophets.

The original Patriarchal Dispensation was, *personally*, communicated by Adam to his children. What may be called the second or intermediate Patriarchal Dispensation was, similarly, communicated by the *personal* intervention of Abraham. And the Levitical Dispensation was, in like manner, communicated to the Israelites by the *personal* intervention of Moses.

In all these instances, with the subordinate instances of Enoch and Noah and Elijah and other similar declarers of the divine behests, *God spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets*.

But far more highly privileged was the Christian Dispensation.

There, *in these last days, God hath spoken unto us by his own Son*. Unlike all the former Dispensations, this crowning Dis-



penetration was communicated to us by the direct personal intervention of the divine Word himself: for *the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth.*

(3.) Thus, when the apostolic antithesis comes to be rightly viewed and accurately stated, the socinian objection plainly loses all its force.

St. Paul speaks, not of Christ's mere *temporary personal appearances*, but of Christ's *personal and immediate ministration* as the prophet of a new and better Dispensation.

3. I may add: that, if the objection had possessed any force, it would not only have annihilated Dr. Priestley's very useful canon; but, what is still worse, it would have made St. Paul contradict himself.

It is certainly a remarkable circumstance: that the doctrine of Christ's frequent appearance to the patriarchs should have been made even an article of faith in a Symbol, which, from the circumstance of its having been preserved by Tertullian, must have chronologically approximated very closely to the apostolic times. But the framers of that primitive Symbol had not only the advantage of knowing, with moral assurance, the doctrine of Christ's immediate disciples: they had likewise good written or scriptural authority for their insertion of such an article.

(1.) St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, had taught them: that *The Israelites in the wilderness tempted Christ and were destroyed of serpents.* 1 Corinth. x. 9.

Now the person, whom the Israelites tempted on that occasion, was, as we are assured both by Moses and by David, Jehovah himself, the God of the whole earth. Numb. xxi. 4—7. Psalm cvi. 14.

But the Jehovah, who conducted the Israelites through the wilderness, and who was tempted of them when they were destroyed by serpents, was undoubtedly that Jehovah, who always described himself as the peculiar family God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.

The Jehovah, however, who thus described himself, appeared

to Moses in the bush. And the Jehovah, who appeared to Moses in the bush, is declared to be the Angel or Messenger of Jehovah: that is to say, he is declared to be, as Zechariah speaks, Jehovah sent by Jehovah. Zechar. ii. 6—11.

Now this Angel or Messenger of Jehovah, himself also Jehovah the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, is declared to be likewise the Being, who repeatedly appeared to the patriarchs, and who also repeatedly appeared during the earlier times of the Levitical Polity; invariably receiving divine adoration from those persons to whom he *did* appear, and invariably considered by them as a manifestation of the Deity.

But St. Paul, by asserting that *The Israelites tempted Christ in the wilderness*, virtually asserts also: that *Christ is the Angel of Jehovah and (as such) the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob*.

Therefore, finally, he teaches the doctrine, which, in the primitive Church nearest to the times of the Apostles, was received as an article of faith: that *The Son or the Word of God variously appeared to the patriarchs*.

Such, then, is the doctrine of St. Paul. But, if we interpret the Exordium of the Epistle to the Hebrews according to the tenor of the socinian objection, we shall clearly make St. Paul *contradict* in one place what he *asserts* in another. Therefore, we have yet an additional reason for maintaining, that any interpretation of this nature is untenable. Accordingly, as I have shewn above, the true interpretation of the passage is liable to no such objection.

(2.) That *Christ* is the real ancient reading of the text in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, appears, not only from Hilary the deacon and Chrysostom and Ecumenius and Theophylact and Primasius, but likewise from the preëminent authority of the much more ancient Irenæus: for this venerable Father, who was born in the year 97 anterior to the death of St. John, and who conversed with that Apostle through the single intervening link of Polycarp, cites the passage precisely as it stands in our common Bibles.

Nec tentemus *Christum*, quemadmodum quidam eorum tentaverunt, et a serpentibus perierunt. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 45. § 4. p. 281.

In strict accordance with such a citation, Irenæus asserts the precise doctrine, which, in framing the ancient Symbol preserved by Tertullian, the early Church, if I mistake not, founded upon this identical text in the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

. Qui igitur a prophetis adorabatur Deus vivus, hic est vivorum Deus et Verbum ejus: qui et locutus est Moysi, qui et Sadducæos redarguit, qui et resurrectionem et Dominum ostendit.— Ipse igitur Christus cum Patre vivorum est Deus, qui et locutus est Moysi, qui et patribus manifestatus est. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 11. p. 239.

Et iterum, in eversione Sodomitarum, Scriptura ait: *Et pluit Dominus super Sodomam et Gomorrhæm ignem et sulphur a Domino de cælo*. Filium enim hic significat, qui et Abraham conloquutus sit, et a Patre accepisse potestatem ad judicandum Sodomitas propter iniquitatem eorum. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 6. p. 175.

Inseminatus est ubique in Scripturis ejus Filius Dei, aliquando quidem cum Abraham loquens, aliquando cum eodem comensurus, aliquando autem Sodomitis inducens judicium: et rursus, cum videtur et in viam dirigit Jacob, et de rubo loquitur cum Moyse. Et non est numerum dicere, in quibus a Moyse ostenditur Filius Dei. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iv. c. 23. p. 248.

III. Before this subject be dismissed, I may be allowed to notice the very extraordinary interpretation of certain parallel texts in the book of Exodus, which has been given by Justin Martyr.

That early Father, like his contemporary Irenæus, strenuously maintains the doctrine propounded in the ancient Symbol; that *The Filial Word of God variously appeared to the patriarchs*: and this divine Word he contends to have been that God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, who, under the appellation of



*the Angel of Jehovah*, conducted the Israelites through the wilderness.

1. Such being the principle of his debate with Trypho, he is led in the course of it to adduce the sum of the following well-known passages in the book of Exodus.

(1.) *Behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared.*

*Beware of him, and obey his voice: provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions: for my name is in him.*

*But, if thou shalt indeed obey his voice and do all that I speak: then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries. For mine angel shall go before thee; and bring thee in unto the Amorites and the Hittites and the Perizzites and the Canaanites and the Hivites and the Jebusites: and I will cut them off.* Exod. xxiii. 20—23.

(2.) *And the Lord said unto Moses:—Therefore now go, lead the people unto the place of which I have spoken unto thee: behold, mine angel shall go before thee.* Exod. xxxii. 33, 34.

(3.) *And the Lord said unto Moses: Depart and go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I swear unto Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying; Unto thy seed will I give it.*

*And I will send an angel before thee: and I will drive out the Canaanite and the Amorite and the Hittite and the Perizzite and the Hivite and the Jebusite: unto a land flowing with milk and honey: for I will not go up in the midst of thee.* Exod. xxxiii. 1—3.

2. Of these several passages conjoined Justin has given us the following interpretation.

(1.) The Lord, who promises to send his angel or messenger before his people Israel, he understands, consistently with his universal plan of exposition, to be Jehovah the Filial Word of God: who, of old, spake to Moses from the burning bush; and who, in the fulness of time, took our nature upon him from the womb of the Virgin.

(2.) Having thus interpreted the character of the Lord who sends his messenger before the people into the land of Canaan, he next proceeds to ascertain that of the promised messenger himself.

Now this he does from the description of the peculiar office assigned to him.

The messenger was to go before the people, and to bring them in unto the Amorites and the Hittites and the Perizzites and the Canaanites and the Hivites and the Jebusites.

But this was the precise office discharged by Joshua.

Therefore, he contends, Joshua was clearly the angel or messenger, whom Jehovah the Filial Word of God promised to send before the people.

(3.) Jehovah the Filial Word, however, declares : that *His own name is in this his messenger.*

But the name, borne by Jehovah the Filial Word, when incarnate from the Virgin Mary, was *Jesus.*

Therefore, since his own name is in his messenger, by the same name of *Jesus* must that messenger be also distinguished.

Accordingly, in matter of fact, by that identical name the great and victorious captain of Israel *was* distinguished : for, as we all know, the word *Jesus* is only the Greek mode of writing the Hebrew word *Joshua.* Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 234.

3. It is no part of my business either to confirm or to controvert this primitive interpretation. I am concerned only with its *result* : and that *result* is not a little important, whether the interpretation itself be tenable or untenable.

(1.) Dr. Priestley and others, as we have seen, please themselves, and endeavour to satisfy their party, with alleging : that *The earlier Fathers, though they first broke in upon the original simplicity of the Gospel, never allowed proper divinity to the Son ; but that Their system of doctrine was not unlike that scheme, which, at a subsequent period, was denominated Arianism.*

(2.) Yet what is the inevitable result of this present inter-

pretation, as proposed, about thirty years after the death of St. John, by Justin Martyr?

The person, who promises to send his messenger before his people Israel, is, in the cited book of Exodus, declared to be Jehovah himself.

But Justin asserts: that the unspecified name appertaining to Jehovah, which Jehovah himself here alludes to as about to be in his appointed messenger, is no other than the name *Jesus*.

Therefore Justin, so far from denying proper divinity to our Lord, unequivocally pronounces: that he is nothing less than Jehovah, the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.

Such, indisputably, must be the *result* from the interpretation, whatever becomes of the *interpretation itself*: for that interpretation, be it in the abstract tenable or untenable, never could have been advanced by an individual, who, in his doctrinal system, allowed not to the Son any true or proper divinity.



## NUMBER VI.

RESPECTING THE ANTITRINITARIAN VIEW OF THE PASSAGES IN  
SCRIPTURE, WHICH ARE THOUGHT TO PROPOUND THE DOCTRINES  
OF SATISFACTION AND PIACULAR SACRIFICE.

---

### SECTION I.

THE DOCTRINE OF SATISFACTION.

---

As the Catholic believes Christ to be very God incarnate : so he believes, that God the Son became incarnate for the purpose of making satisfaction to the absolute justice of God the Father, without which satisfaction the sinful race of fallen man could not be saved consistently with the nature of that unbending attribute ; and he further believes, that the mode, in which this satisfaction was made, was by the piacular sacrifice or the expiatory self-devotement of Christ his Saviour.

I. The doctrine of *Satisfaction* may sometimes have been not quite accurately expressed by those, who have occasionally handled it.

Thus, for instance, by some writers, the death of Christ has been described as THE CAUSE, which renders the Almighty Father DISPOSED to forgive our sins.

Now this statement, I apprehend, is not perfectly correct.

*God so loved the world, said our Lord himself, that he gave his only-begotten Son : in order that, whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.* John iii. 16.

Here, and in many other passages, THE FIRST IMPELLING

CAUSE, by which the Father is DISPOSED to forgive our sins, is his own merciful love.

To assert, therefore, that *The death of Christ was THE CAUSE which rendered the Father DISPOSED or INCLINED to forgiveness, whereas PREVIOUSLY he was NOT SO DISPOSED or INCLINED, is, I conceive, not scripturally accurate.*

II. But, though by some good men the doctrine may not always have been expressed with perfect correctness; whence occasion has mischievously been taken to say, that *it exhibits God the Father under the unlovely aspect of antecedent implacability*: still Catholics are fully agreed, as to the main position which it sets forth; and I may perhaps venture to assert, that, as the following is the most general view of the subject, so likewise it is deemed the most sound and exact.

1. The perfect inherent love and mercy of God were the first impelling cause, which disposed him, to forgive the fallen race of man, to reconcile them to himself here, and finally to admit them to glory hereafter.

But, though inherent love and mercy were the first impelling cause; yet God is a God of perfect justice, as well as a God of perfect mercy and love: and, however his love and mercy might be displayed in the unconditional pardon of a sinner; his justice would cease to be perfect, if the sinner were pardoned without full satisfaction being made for his offence.

Now such satisfaction the sinner himself cannot make: for mere repentance, though doubtless required by God at his hands, cannot in perfect justice exempt him from merited punishment. A murderer may profess to be, and really may be, very sorry for his offence: but his punishment cannot on that account be remitted without manifest injustice; he must still pay the penalty of the broken law. Hence, analogically, however the mercy of God may *dispose* him to pardon, he would cease to be a God of perfect justice, if he pardoned *without adequate satisfaction.*

What, then, was to be done?

According to the mode in which the Catholic understands Scripture, such was the infinite impelling love of the Father,

that he gave his only-begotten Son, the Son himself fully consenting and freely undertaking the task, to stand in the place of sinners : so that, by undergoing the punishment due to them, he might make complete satisfaction to the Father, and thus render it possible (as St. Paul speaks) for God at once to be just and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Rom. iii. 26.

This is held by the Catholic Church to be that grand christian paradox, in which perfect mercy and perfect justice unite to pardon and to save the guilty.

If, without satisfaction to his violated Law, God *simply* forgave sinners, he might be merciful, but he could not be perfectly just : for the idea of *simply pardoning a criminal* and the idea of *perfect justice* are clearly incompatible.

But God's mercy provided a satisfaction to his justice : through the vicarious death of the incarnate Son for the sins of all mankind, the two otherwise jarring attributes were fully reconciled : and a way of pardon and acceptance was freely opened to every one, who was willing to avail himself of the propounded terms.

2. *The Father*, says Justin Martyr or whoever was the very ancient apostolic writer of the Epistle to Diognetus, *knew all things by himself ; though, economically, in conjunction with his Son.*

*Down to the termination of the former time, he suffered us, as we ourselves desired, to be hurried away by disorderly impulses, and to be governed by our own pleasures and desires. Not, indeed, that he was pleased with our sins ; but that he endured them : not that he was consentient during the season of iniquity ; but that he was forming a purpose of justice : for he formed it, in order that, during that time being from our own actions convicted of unworthiness of life, we might now through the goodness of God fitly obtain it ; and, having so far as concerned ourselves fully displayed the impossibility of our entering into the kingdom of God, we might now through the power of God be rendered able so to enter.*



*When, therefore, the measure of our unrighteousness was fully accomplished; and when it had been made completely manifest, that punishment and death might have been expected as the fit wages of sin: then came the time, in which God had predetermined to display his own goodness and power; that, through his exceeding great love to man, he did not hate us, nor reject us, nor remember our evil deeds; but that (as he himself declared) he long bore with us, and took upon him the burden of our sins.*

*His own Son he gave a ransom for us: the holy for the unholy, the good for the bad, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else could cover our sins, except his righteousness? In whom was it possible that such lawless and impious beings as ourselves could be justified, except in the Son of God alone?*

*O sweet interchange! O contrivance past all investigation! O unexpected benefits! That the wickedness of many should be hidden in one righteous person, and that the righteousness of one should justify many who were wicked.*

*Having, therefore, in former time demonstrated the impossibility of our nature obtaining life; and having now set forth a Saviour, able to save those who in themselves were incapable of salvation: from both these circumstances, he has wished us to rely upon his goodness, and to deem him our nourisher, our father, our teacher, our counsellor, our physician, our intellect, our light, our honour, our glory, our strength, our life. Epist. ad Diog. in Oper. Justin. p. 386.*

III. Now the whole of this grand scheme of mercy, which the Catholic esteems *the very essence of the Gospel*, the Antitrinitarian in our modern days rejects as *an unscriptural corruption*.

If, then, it be rejected, upon what specific ground is sinful man to hope for pardon and acceptance?

Clearly, he is thrown altogether, upon his own merits or demerits, upon his own resources or deficiencies.

That all men *are* sinners, will scarcely, I presume, be denied even by a modern Antitrinitarian. The *amount* of their sin-

fulness he may possibly seek to extenuate: but still he will not venture to maintain, that there lives a human being, who has *never* offended against God in thought or in word or in deed.

Under such circumstances, if we reject the doctrine of the atonement: how, without adequate satisfaction being made, is guilty man to be pardoned; while yet the perfect justice of God is preserved inviolate and unimpeached?

IV. Lest I should unwittingly misrepresent the system or systems of the Antitrinitarian School, I shall borrow the statement of a writer, whose authority, I believe, is deemed among his friends the very reverse of contemptible.

*Some few of those, who are united by accordance in the great principles of Unitarianism, says Dr. Carpenter, believe: that the judgment, by which the condition of each is decided, takes place, for each, at death; and that there will be no general judgment.*

*Some few believe: that, although there will be a general judgment, yet the decisions of the great day will not be conducted by our Saviour as a personal judge.*

*Many believe: that the individual, immediately after death, enters into a state of happiness or misery; and yet that there will be a general resurrection of the dead.*

*But the greatest proportion, I imagine, among Unitarians, regard the interval between death and the resurrection as a period of unconsciousness (in which, to the individual, the instants of those great events must be in immediate succession): and believe; that, in the strictest sense, we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ.*

*Yet, in the midst of these diversities of opinion, all receive, what is surely the grand essential point: that the future life will be a state of righteous retribution, and that all shall be judged according to their works.*

*Here the influence of Unitarianism shines forth resplendently. —Nothing, which can be derived from Unitarianism, interferes with the solemn, authoritative, decisive, declarations of the Gos-*

*pel: Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap; and Every man shall bear his own burden.*

*Yet blessed be God, that, with the gift of eternal life through Christ Jesus, is not connected the disclosure of eternal, irremediable, unmingled, anguish to an incomparably large proportion of the human race!—The Gospel does indeed persuade men by the terrors of the Lord: and it displays to us those terrors in terms too clear to allow the guilty sinner, either to hope that sin shall go unpunished, or to doubt the truth that indignation and wrath will be on the workers of iniquity. Its declarations, respecting their future sufferings, are awful and alarming: but, of the duration of these, it speaks in language too indefinite to require us to believe a doctrine, at which the best feelings of the human heart revolt.*

*In rejecting this opinion, Unitarians are universally agreed: and the connection is close and (I think) indissoluble, between the fundamental doctrines of Unitarianism, and those views of the divine character and dispensations which forbid us to make his glory depend on something different from and even opposed to his justice and goodness.*

*I should be disposed to go further, and say: that those views of the divine character, to which I refer, inevitably lead to the belief; that there will be a time when all the rational creatures of God will have been purified from every pollution and made fit for holiness and consequently for happiness.*

*But there are among us able and pious scripturalists, who are induced, by what they consider the plain declarations of the Gospel, to believe: that the sufferings of the wicked, according to their works, will be ended by their destruction.*

*Most of us, however, believe: that a period will come to each individual, when punishment shall have done its work, and when the awful sufferings, with which the Gospel threatens the impenitent and disobedient, will have humbled the stubborn, purified the polluted, and eradicated malignity, impiety, hypocrisy, and every evil disposition. Examin. of Abp. Magee's Charges, p. 37—43.*



If I can collect any thing like a tangible and consistent creed from the confessed diversity of opinions which prevail among Antitrinitarians; for, by the vague and undistinguishing name of *Unitarians*, a name *equally* the property of *every* denomination of Christians, Dr. Carpenter means, I presume, to point out religionists of that description: I must specify that creed in some such terms as the following.

*Either immediately after death, or immediately after the general doom, good men will enter into happiness and bad men will enter into penal misery. But the punishment of the wicked will not be eternal: on the contrary, it will be exactly proportioned to their several demerits. When they shall have remained in torment sufficiently long to make satisfaction for their sins and to purge away their pollutions, they will then either be admitted into bliss or will have an end put to their sufferings by annihilation.*

V. In making this brief statement, I have not been designedly guilty of misrepresentation: should I have erred unintentionally, the ample quotation from Dr. Carpenter's exposition of the matter will doubtless correct my mistake. Trusting, however, that my statement contains no error at least of moment, I shall proceed to inquire: how far the antitrinitarian theory, either secures the perfect justice of God, or agrees with the plain language of Scripture.

1. The leading idea, which pervades the whole system, is: that *Satisfaction to the divine justice is made by the exactly proportioned future penal sufferings of every sinning individual.* He, who has sinned less, is punished less: he, who has sinned more, is punished more. He, who is less guilty, makes his escape sooner from the place of purifying torment: he, who is more guilty, remains in it during a longer period.

Such, so far as I can understand the system, is its leading and palmary idea: such, at least *professedly*, is the principle, upon which it claims to repose. But, when it is actually brought into play, this idea and this principle are very widely departed from. For we are *then* taught: that, *immediately after either*

*death or judgment* (no matter *which*, so far as the difficulty or inconsistency is concerned), *each individual enters into a state either of happiness or of misery.*

Now we may well ask : how can this be, if the present system of apportioning an *exact* remuneration of punishment be correct ?

That ALL have sinned more or less, will scarcely be denied : unless indeed the Antitrinitarian be prepared either to controvert or to disfranchise the declaration of St. Paul ; that ALL *have sinned and come short of the glory of God.* Rom. iii. 23. But, if ALL have sinned : then ALL, unless the very *principle* of the present system be abandoned, must make satisfaction to the precision of divine justice by undergoing their respectively merited share of punishment hereafter.

Hence it is clear, according to the Antitrinitarian scheme : that, immediately after either death or judgment, ALL, whether comparatively good or positively bad, must enter into a state of penal misery. Some may suffer more, and some may suffer less ; some may remain in torment a longer time, and some may be subjected to it for a shorter time : but still, on the avowed *principle* of the present system, inasmuch as ALL have sinned, ALL must enter during an appointed season into the common prison-house of retributive punishment. From this fate none can be exempt, save those who have *never* sinned. But ALL *have sinned and come short of the glory of God.* Therefore ALL must hereafter be subjected to exactly apportioned penal misery.

This, so far as I can understand the grounds of just reasoning, is the legitimate and necessary conclusion from the premises laid down by the Antitrinitarian. Yet, according to this self-same theological speculatist, there are individuals, who enter into *happiness* IMMEDIATELY after either death or judgment, and who thence *totally* escape even the smallest measure of *penal retribution.*

In what manner, then, does he introduce *acknowledged* sinners, though of course not sinners of the deepest die, into a state of

happiness without undergoing ANY punishment for their *confessed* aberrations ; and yet preserve uninjured the perfect justice of God ?

(1.) Possibly he may say: that, although no persons are *absolutely* free from sin, yet there is a wide difference between the habitually good and the habitually bad, not only in their general conduct, but likewise in the important article of repentance.

I readily allow, that there are *gradations* in evil: but I see not, how *such* a circumstance can solve the difficulty. The only syllogism, which can be framed upon the admitted fact, is the following.

ALL sin more or less. But there is a wide difference between the habitually good and the habitually bad. THEREFORE the habitually good, who are only small sinners, will be subjected to *no* punishment; while the habitually bad, who are great sinners though still with a considerable mutual diversity, will be subjected to punishments *exactly apporportioned to their several demerits*.

This strikes me as a somewhat lame and illegitimate conclusion: nor will the calling in of repentance much mend the matter.

A mere expression of sorrow can neither undo a sin, nor make any legal satisfaction for it. *We*, no doubt, often pardon an offence on such grounds; but this is no decisive evidence, that *God* either will, or consistently with his attributes can, act in any such manner. The reason is obvious. *We* are not perfectly just: therefore, without departing from our character, *we* can depart from perfect justice. But *God* is perfectly just: therefore *God* cannot depart from perfect justice, without at the same time departing from his own distinctive character. Now, if *God* *simply* pardons an offence without exacting *any* punishment, on the mere ground that the offender is sorry for what he has done, he most assuredly departs from his own distinctive character of perfect justice. The departure, possibly, may not be very wide; because (to speak after the manner of men) the sin



may be small, and the repentance may be sincere: but still let there be *any*, even the *least*, departure; and justice ceases to be *perfect*. Hence, on the Antitrinitarian scheme, we are brought to the appalling alternative: either that *God is not perfectly just*; or that *ALL men, for that ALL have sinned, must, after death, enter, during a certain accurately adjusted season, into a state of penal misery.*

(2.) In reply, it will probably be argued: that, although a perfectly just God cannot pardon sin without adequate satisfaction, yet the *punishment* of the offender is not the *only* conceivable satisfaction. *Repentance*, it is true, is not admitted in a human court of judicature to be any legal satisfaction for an offence: but it is easy to believe, that the case may be very different in the court of a heavenly judge. *There*, a sincere repentance may be received as a full satisfaction: and thus, without any impeachment of the divine attribute of perfect justice, an *absolute* pardon may be freely granted to a sincerely penitent offender.

With respect to this solution of the difficulty, it may, I think, be well doubted; whether, in the very nature of things, mere sorrow for an offence can ever be deemed an adequate legal satisfaction for the offence itself: because such an opinion strikes at the very root of justice. If a *single* offence may be justly pardoned on the score of mere repentance: then *thousands* and *myriads* of successive offences may, on the same principle, be justly pardoned on the same score; for at what precise point shall the line be drawn, which shuts out repentance as no longer available? But, if repentance thus operating be *always* deemed an adequate legal satisfaction: it is abundantly plain, that the very end of justice must be completely defeated, and that a most immoral invitation must be actually held out for the diligent multiplication of offence. Hence I cannot but doubt: whether, in the very nature of things, mere sorrow for an evil deed can ever be admitted as an adequate legal satisfaction for the evil deed itself.

Granting, however, the abstract possibility of such satisfac-

tion, we shall still find that no ordinary difficulties attend upon the principle while in supposed operation.

The theory is : that *Repentance is an adequate legal satisfaction for an offence ; so that, without any impeachment of the divine attribute of perfect justice, the penitent offender may be freely pardoned.*

Such is the theory : but the question is, how this theory is to be reduced to actual practice ?

A man, who has committed a small offence, while his general life has been virtuous ; and a man, who has repeatedly committed a multiplicity of great offences, so that the tenor of his life has been eminently vicious ; are each, we will say, truly sorry for what they have respectively done : the generally virtuous man having repented, after the commission of his small offence ; and the generally vicious man having regularly repented, after the commission of every one of his great offences.

According to the present theory, what sentence must be severally awarded to these two culprits ? Must *both* be freely pardoned, on the score that their repentance has made an adequate satisfaction for the offences of which they have each been guilty ? Or must *both* be punished, in exact proportion to the offences severally committed ? Or must *the generally virtuous man* be freely pardoned ; while *the generally vicious man*, though a hearty penitent, is relentlessly condemned ?

If the *first* decision be adopted : then it is clear, that the worst of men need be under no apprehension as to future punishment ; for, provided only they go on alternately sinning and repenting, they will ultimately, unless they have the ill luck to be cut off by sudden or accidental death before they have had time to settle their moral account of debtor and creditor, fare no worse than the most eminently pious and devout.

If the *second* decision be adopted : then the present theory is virtually relinquished as untenable ; and it is confessed, that ALL men, notwithstanding their repentance, must hereafter be

punished more or less, in exact corresponding proportion, for the sins which they have committed.

If the *third* decision be adopted: then it is acknowledged, that repentance avails in *some* cases, but that in *other* cases it is wholly unavailing; that is to say, it is acknowledged, that for *some* offences repentance is capable of making legal satisfaction, but that for *other* offences it is wholly incapable.

*Each* decision, so far as I can judge, is attended with difficulties not very easy to be surmounted: and the *last* of them, though when superficially viewed the most plausible, is in truth the least easy to arrange in any manner which may be deemed at all satisfactory. For, if *some* offences may be so pardoned upon repentance, that the offender shall escape wholly without punishment; and if *other* offences cannot be pardoned upon repentance, but the offender must nevertheless give full satisfaction to justice by suffering adequate punishment: where, as to the number and magnitude of the offences, shall the line be drawn; at what precise point shall repentance become ineffectual to ward off punishment; and, if at any point it become ineffectual, why was it effectual at the immediately preceding point, when between the two points the difference is so slight as to be scarcely perceptible?

It will of course be understood, that in each case I speak of *sincere* repentance: for *insincere* repentance is, in truth, *no* repentance. Under every aspect, therefore, the theory, that *A sincere repentance for an offence may be admitted as an adequate satisfaction to the perfect justice of God for the offence itself*, is, I think, encumbered by far too many difficulties and contradictions and incongruities to be rationally tenable by any serious and accurate inquirer.

Again, then, on the antitrinitarian scheme, we are brought to the alternative, of either *giving up the perfect justice of God*, or of *believing that ALL men after death enter for an exactly apportioned season into a state of retributive penal misery*.

(3.) It will perhaps be said: that, in despite of abstract



reasoning on the divine attributes, the pardon of sin is, in matter of fact, repeatedly promised to sincere repentance; God himself best knowing what is an adequate satisfaction to his own justice.

Assuredly the pardon of sin is so promised: but what then? Are we to pick and cull from Scripture such texts as may seem to suit our purpose, while we omit those which impede it? If *thus* we act, we may apparently demonstrate many matters to be the truth, which yet are quite irreconcilable with the general tenor of God's word. Repentance is *necessary*, indeed, to pardon; so that, without it, there can be no remission of sin: but we have yet to learn where it is said, that repentance **ALONE** is *sufficient*.

I find no such doctrine *under the Law*.

On behalf of those very persons, to whom pardon was promised on their repentance, the high-priest, even to say nothing of individual expiatory sacrifice, *entered alone into the most holy place, once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself and for the errors of the people.* Heb. ix. 7.

I find no such doctrine *under ancient Patriarchism*.

The friends of Job, we may be sure, when reprehended by the Lord himself, were heartily sorry for their past conduct. But this was not sufficient. *Take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, said Jehovah to the offenders, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering; and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept: lest I deal with you after your folly.* Job xlii. 8.

I find no such doctrine *under the Gospel*.

*Joy shall be in heaven, said our Lord, over one sinner that repenteth:* and, when his Apostles went out, *they preached that men should repent.* Luke xv. 7. Mark vi. 12. But was repentance **ALONE** sufficient? The tenor of Christ's preaching was: *Repent ye, and believe the Gospel.* Mark i. 15. Belief in the Gospel was to be added to repentance, in order that repentance might be effectual: and, as to the mode in which the Gospel operates, St. Paul expressly compares its grand provi-

sion for the pardon of sin to the typical provision for the same purpose which was made under the Law. *Christ being come, an high-priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and of calves, but by his own blood; he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.* Heb. ix. 11, 12.

Now, if repentance ALONE were sufficient to make legal satisfaction and to procure pardon, what need was there, that the Levitical High-Priest should yearly offer blood for himself and for the errors of the people: what need was there, that the friends of Job should offer up sacrifice: what need was there, that Christ should on our behalf enter once into heaven by his own blood?

The question, at the present moment, is not: *What might be the precise import of sanguinary sacrifice.* But the question is: *Whether repentance ALONE be sufficient, in the entire scriptural representation of the matter, to make legal satisfaction for sin.*

Truly the whole Bible, under all the three Dispensations, is against the notion: that *The pardon of sin is promised to repentance EXCLUSIVELY.*

Thus are we once more conducted to the alternative, forced upon us by the antitrinitarian scheme: either *God is not perfectly just; or ALL men, after death, must for a season enter into a state of retributive penal misery.*

2. But we have yet to inquire, how far the system of the Antitrinitarian School will agree with the plain testimonies of Scripture.

(1.) At the very commencement of such an inquiry, it is impossible not to observe: that the whole Bible contains not so much as a single syllable, relative to the imaginary purification of sin-polluted souls by the fire of retributive punishment.

*Most of us believe, says Dr. Carpenter: that a period will come to each individual, when punishment shall have done its work; and when the awful sufferings, with which the Gospel threatens the impenitent and disobedient, will have humbled the*

*stubborn, PURIFIED THE POLLUTED, and eradicated malignity, impiety, hypocrisy, and every evil disposition.*

Such, according to Dr. Carpenter, is *the general belief of modern Antitrinitarians*. But upon what part of the entire Bible, whether Hebrew or Greek, is this *general belief* founded? Instead of future punishment in hell having a *purifying* effect: from *Scripture*, if we be content to take *Scripture* for our guide instead of our own vain imaginings, we are led to conclude, that it will have a directly *opposite* tendency. From *Scripture* we are led to conclude: that, so far from *purifying*, it will *inflame and irritate and harden* the miserable sufferers.

*He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still. And, behold, I come quickly: and my reward is with me, to give unto every man according as his work shall be. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city. For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lye. Rev. xxii. 11—15.*

It is difficult to say, what such passages as this can mean, if they do not intimate the unalterable moral condition, both of the good and of the bad alike, in the future world. Of any PURIFICATION OF THE POLLUTED by the torments of hell not a hint is given *in Scripture*: whatever is *there* said on the subject tends to establish a directly *opposite* opinion. In a word, *the general belief of the Antitrinitarian School*, according to Dr. Carpenter, is: that HELL WILL PURIFY THE POLLUTED. By what single text in the whole Bible do they vindicate their belief?

(2.) If, then, *purification* be not the result of future punishment; *the prolonged separation of the wicked from God* must, even in the way of cause and effect, be the inevitable consequence.



This separation is not more a *punishment* (the *only* light, in which Antitrinitarians, with the superadded idea of *purification*, seem to consider it), than an *act of fatal necessity*. The wicked, by their very character, are unfitted for the presence of a pure and holy God. Their impenitent unholiness first separates them from him: their continued unholiness prolongs the separation. If they never cease to be unholy, the separation must needs be eternal: for the same cause, which originally produced the separation, still continues to operate. But, unless some process of purification takes place in hell, it is quite clear, that they can never cease to be unholy. The whole question, therefore, obviously turns upon *this alleged process of purification*: and, consequently, we are again brought to demand from the Antitrinitarian his *scriptural* proof; that any such process is carried on, through the medium of future punishment in hell. Truly the whole process is nothing more, than the play of his own unchastened imagination. In the Bible, from which *alone* we can know any thing certain respecting the dread realities of a future world, we have not the slightest hint of *the purifying quality of hell*. On the contrary, as the moral condition of its wretched inmates is pronounced to be *unchangeable*: so, with strict consistency, the separation of the unholy from God is declared to be *everlasting*.

If we may believe Dr. Carpenter indeed, the language of Scripture is too indefinite to require the admission of a tenet, *at which the best feelings of the human heart revolt*.

Nothing is more easy, than this very cheap display of sentiment. In the awful idea of *an eternity of punishment*, the Catholic *delights* no more than the Antitrinitarian: but the veriest babe in reasoning must surely see, that the whole matter is a question of *pure evidence*. To talk of *the best feelings of the human heart*, where a question of *naked scriptural evidence* is concerned, is, in point of argument, the mere babbling of childishness. If we receive the Bible as the word of God, we must believe, not according to *our* feelings, but according to *its* decisions. The question is simply and exclusively: *What is*

*revealed to us in Scripture?* We neither do, nor can, know any thing beyond what *it* teaches us.

Dr. Carpenter speaks of *the indefiniteness of Scripture*: but where does it exist?

So far as *feeling* is concerned, I may regret, as much as he might do, that I can discover no such indefiniteness: but *feeling* has very little to do with *evidence*. Not an argument, from the language of Scripture, can be brought to prove *the non-eternity of future punishment*, which does not equally prove *the non-eternity of future happiness*. If we quibble about the meaning of the Greek word, which St. Matthew employs to convey the sense of our Lord's declaration: we must, by every rule of just composition, extend the quibble through the whole sentence.

*These shall go away into EVERLASTING punishment: but the righteous, into EVERLASTING life.* Matt. xxv. 46.

The self-same Greek word is employed, in each manifestly corresponding clause of the sentence, to describe, *the duration of life* on the one hand, and *the duration of punishment* on the other hand. If the *punishment* be not eternal; then neither is the *life* eternal: if the *life* be everlasting; then likewise is the *punishment* everlasting. The same word cannot be used in two entirely different senses, as it occurs in two avowedly antithetical clauses of a single sentence.

But, that the word here means *everlasting*, and consequently that the *punishment* is everlasting, appears, not only from the allowed circumstance that the *life* is everlasting, but also from our Lord's own perfectly unambiguous declaration. He elsewhere, speaking on the same subject, declares; that *the fire of hell shall NEVER be quenched*: and he describes it as a place, where *the worm of the wicked dieth NOT*, and where *their fire is NOT quenched*. Mark ix. 43—48. Whether this fire be literal or figurative, is nothing to the purpose: be it what it may, we are assured, in words as little indefinite as can well be conceived, that it is *ETERNAL*. If hell were a place of temporary purification, the double object of which was to satisfy God's justice and

to fit the souls in torment for the pure joys of heaven: the worm of the damned *would* die, and their fire *would* be quenched. Our Lord, however, assures us: that their worm dieth NOT, and that their fire is NOT quenched. Hence, by the pursuit of any intelligible line of argument, it is difficult to conceive, what conclusion can legitimately follow from such premises, save an eternity of punishment.

I repeat it, that, in this idea, the Catholic *delights* no more than the Antitrinitarian. From the manner, in which Dr. Carpenter complacently speaks of *the best feelings of the human heart*, an incautious reader might imagine, that such amiable feelings were the exclusive property of the latter. But this is a mistake. The Catholic does not believe the doctrine, because it affords a horrid gratification to his perverted feelings: he believes it, because the belief is forced upon his conviction by irresistible evidence.

(3.) And now, in a ten-fold more appalling form, the question recurs: how the Antitrinitarian, on *his* principles, consistently with the justice of God, can provide an escape, even for the very best of men, from that punishment which Scripture declares to be eternal.

If God be *perfectly* just, the best man, inasmuch as ALL have sinned, *must*, agreeably to the tremendous scheme of modern Antitrinitarianism, be consigned to future punishment. But Christ assures us: that the future punishment of hell, the *only* future punishment set forth in Scripture, is EVERLASTING. Therefore the Antitrinitarian, who rejects the doctrine of *Satisfaction made for guilty sinners by the incarnate Word*, must either deny the perfect justice of God, or must consign the whole human race to eternal punishment.

(4.) But, in truth, the entire system is radically at variance with Holy Scripture.

On the one hand, nothing is more clear; than that the antitrinitarian theory of a future state makes the whole of man's salvation to depend, either upon his own righteous works, or upon his own expiatory sufferings in a fancied purifying hell:



and, on the other hand, nothing is more evident; than that Scripture makes the whole of man's salvation, so far as *right* and *claim* and *merit* are concerned, to depend upon the exclusive meritoriousness of Christ embraced by an act of lively and operative faith.

Respecting this point, the writings of St. Paul are eminently distinct and precise. The whole argument of the Epistle to the Romans, not to mention various parts of the other Epistles, goes to prove: that ALL, both Jews and Gentiles, have sinned and are unable to make satisfaction for their offences. Whence the Apostle, most logically and most legitimately, contends: that, if saved, they must be saved by faith in Christ, and not by their own works or deservings. This at once leads him to that great paradox, which is the sole foundation of our hope, whether we be Jews or whether we be Gentiles.

*ALL have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, at this time, his righteousness: that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus. Rom. iii. 23—26.*

Such is the doctrine of Scripture: but the Antitrinitarian, while he effectually destroys the perfect justice of God, contradicts St. Paul by making every man his own justifier, partly through the meritoriousness of his good works, and partly through his expiatory sufferings in a temporary purgatory.

Nor is this the whole measure of the Antitrinitarian's utter scriptural inaccuracy.

In the inspired word of God, the *alone* sanctifier and purifier of sinful man, who, by first regenerating and by afterward successively renovating his corrupt nature, gradually fits and prepares him for the society of the Lord in heaven, is the quickening and life-giving Spirit of grace and holiness. Respecting any *other* mode of making us intrinsically meet for the inherit-

ance of the saints in light, the Bible is profoundly silent. Its unvaried language is : that *We are justified solely by the Son* ; that *We are sanctified solely by the Spirit*.

But, if, without a shadow of scriptural evidence, or rather to speak more accurately, in direct opposition to all scriptural evidence, we may believe the bulk of the modern Antitrinitarian School, as its dogmata are evolved by Dr. Carpenter : hell, concerning the nature of which the entire Christian World has so grievously erred during the long space of eighteen centuries, is, in the appointment of God's providence, the grand final instrument of a sinner's purification and sanctification. If all means, both celestial and terrestrial, unhappily prove ineffective : a merciful and beneficent hell still remains, where, under the special tutelage of the devil and his angels, and in the midst of bitter hatred and perpetual blasphemy, the most hardened and the most reprobate offenders cannot fail to be ultimately made the holy and approved servants of the Almighty. *We are inevitably led to the belief*, says Dr. Carpenter : *that there will be a time, when ALL the rational creatures of God will have been purified from every pollution, and made fit for holiness and consequently for happiness*.

Beautiful is the vision of universal restitution : but, unless it be verified by something more potent than Dr. Carpenter's abstract views of the divine character, it can be ranked only among those lovely though treacherous dreams, which incessantly issue from the ivory gate of the great latin mythologist.

---

## SECTION II.

### THE DOCTRINE OF PIACULAR SACRIFICE.

---

With the doctrine of a full satisfaction made to God's perfect justice by the voluntary death of Christ, the Antitrinitarian

consistently rejects also the belief that *Our Lord was an expiatory or piacular sacrifice.*

*It is well known to all persons who are conversant with the writings of the Orientals, says Dr. Priestley: that they are in general people of much more lively imaginations than we in Europe; that their style, in speaking or writing, is more figurative than ours; and that similes and allegories are much more common with them than with us.—*

*Expressions like these must infallibly mislead persons, who do not bring to the reading of the Scriptures a portion of common sense, sufficient to enable them to distinguish the true and proper meaning through this close covering of figure: for, at the same time that the metaphor is exceedingly strong, the turn of the sentence gives no intimation of it. The Evangelists, St. Paul, and all the other Apostles, write in the same manner. In short, this bold metaphorical style, calculated to strike and surprize, was always affected in the East: and there it imposes upon nobody. When such is the taste and manner of writing used by the sacred writers, can it be wondered at, that they use figures when they speak of the death of their Lord and Master?—*

*Accordingly, we find: that their imaginations were proportionably struck with it; and that they not only describe the manner, the causes, and the operation, of it, in plain language; but likewise have recourse to a variety of comparisons and strong metaphors, such as were naturally prompted by their own strong feelings, and were calculated to impress the minds of those to whom they addressed themselves in a suitable manner.*

*The most remarkable of these figurative representations of THE DEATH OF CHRIST, which occur in the New Testament, is that, in which he is compared to A SACRIFICE. Indeed, the figure is just and beautiful. In every sacrifice, the victim is supposed to die for the good and benefit of the persons on whose account it is offered. So Christ, dying in the cause of virtue and to procure the greatest possible benefit to the human race, is said to have given his life a sacrifice for us. Moreover, as the proper object of the death of Christ was to open a certain prospect of a*



*future life and thereby operate as a powerful motive to repentance by which means sinners reinstate themselves in the favour of God: his death is more especially compared to that species of sacrifice, which is called A SIN-OFFERING; because it was prescribed to be offered upon the commission of an offence, and after it the offending person was considered as if he had never sinned. The resemblance, between THE DEATH OF CHRIST (according to this account of the nature and object of it) and these SACRIFICES FOR SIN, appears to me to be a sufficient foundation for its being called by that name: and would abundantly justify the metaphor, even without making any allowance for the greater licence in the use of figures which we expect in the East. Why, then, should we look for more points of resemblance, between THE DEATH OF CHRIST and A SACRIFICE FOR SIN, than those mentioned above: when the language of Scripture by no means requires any more?*

*Yet, upon this single circumstance, has been erected a system of principles, which is, in the most essential points, the reverse of the plain christian doctrine of salvation by Jesus Christ. Priestley's One great End. Works, vol. vii. p. 221—223. See also Hist. of Corrupt. part ii. sect. 3. Works, vol. v. p. 105—121.*

In the present citation from a writer, who is justly acknowledged to be one of the most eminent of his School, there are many things, which well deserve our attention.

I. According to Dr. Priestley, in the books of the New Testament, where they exhibit THE DEATH OF CHRIST as being A SACRIFICE FOR SIN, there is so large an infusion of Orientalism: that, while their bold metaphorical style, in the enunciation of this particular, would *impose upon nobody* in the East; it would *infallibly mislead* those less fortunate Occidentals, who did not bring to the reading of them an acquaintance with asiatic diction, united with a portion of *common sense* sufficient to develop their true and proper meaning.

1. Such is the statement of Dr. Priestley: and the circumstance, which it characteristically indicates as *inevitable*, has doubtless *occurred*.

Books, so constructed as *infallibly to mislead* all save the Christians of the East, have, most admirably and most effectually, performed their appointed office. In the *greek* or *oriental* Churches, indeed, if we may believe the word of a professed historian, the scriptural language, relative to THE DEATH OF CHRIST being A SACRIFICE FOR SIN, *imposes upon nobody*: for, throughout *those* Churches, Dr. Priestley's view of the phraseology before us has always, from the first, been invariably adopted. But, certainly, in the *West*, on the single circumstance of THE DEATH OF CHRIST being scripturally exhibited as analogous to THE CONFESSEDLY PIACULAR SACRIFICES OF THE LEVITICAL DISPENSATION, has been erected a system of principles, which, in the judgment of Dr. Priestley, *is, in the most essential points, the reverse of the plain christian doctrine of salvation by our Redeemer.*

2. How the christian doctrine of salvation can be *plain*; and yet how the phraseology, in which this *plain* doctrine is propounded, must *infallibly mislead* all save natives of the East *where it imposes upon nobody*: Dr. Priestley is not careful to explain; though, to the uninitiated at least, such a matter might apparently *require* some explanation.

Let *this*, however, pass. We are *at present* concerned with an examination of his theory of Orientalism.

(1.) The Gospel, we are assured by the sacred writers, was eminently to be preached to the *poor* and to the *ignorant*. Nor was it to be confined to the privileged *Oriental*s: it was equally to be propounded to the *Occidental*s also.

Such being its professed character, it was, of course, in all its grand essential doctrines, to be remarkable for its easy intelligibility. Whence, by Isaiah, it was prophetically described, as a public high-way, in which ordinary travellers, even though possessed of small mental acuteness, should be in no special danger of erring. Compare Isaiah xxxv. 3—10. with Matt. xi. 5. and Luke vii. 21—23.

(2.) Yet, according to the paradox offered to our acceptance by the ingenuity of Dr. Priestley, though the phraseology of

the Gospel could *impose upon nobody* among the more sagacious Orientals, it would *infallibly mislead* all other persons who were less favourably circumstanced.

And, agreeably to this somewhat unexpected view of the matter, in point of fact we actually find : that, with the exception of a few scattered Antitrinitarians, the whole body of the people, denominated *Christians*, have, in all ages, been thus grievously imposed upon and misled.

(3.) According, however, to Dr. Priestley's statement of the question ; that such an event *should* occur, was only to be *expected*.

For the admirably contrived phraseology of the Gospel is such : that, with the sole exception of the privileged Orientals, it must *infallibly mislead* all who are destitute of what he calls *common sense*.

In other words, with the single exception of individuals born and educated in Asia, it must *infallibly mislead* all those poor and plain and ignorant persons, who, when Christ is repeatedly and systematically described as *a sacrifice for sin*, in the depth of their simplicity believe him to *be* what they constantly find him *styled*.

(4.) Now, as Dr. Priestley well knew, Tertullian with much truth declares : that *Persons of this sort must ALWAYS, in the very nature and necessity of things, constitute an immense majority of believers*.

Therefore, if we can follow Dr. Priestley, we shall be content cheerfully to hold : that the Gospel, though specially intended for the poor, was yet, in point of phraseology, so constructed, that it must needs *infallibly mislead* them. Nothing at least, if they were born and bred elsewhere than in Asia, could save these unhappy men from *necessary* error, but a diligent application to teachers, who would assure them : that, *When Christ is styled A SACRIFICE, such phraseology is an oriental figure of speech, which really means that he was NOT a sacrifice*.

(5.) But we have not even yet arrived at the end of Dr. Priestley's prodigious paradox.



The historian gravely informs us: that, in the privileged East, such language *imposes upon nobody*.

Now, in the connection wherein it stands, this information is plainly equivalent to an assertion: that *Nobody in the East was ever so imposed upon by the phraseology of the Gospel, as to deduce from it the doctrine of Christ being the strictly proper piacular sacrifice appointed to make satisfaction to the Father for the sins of all mankind*.

Such is the *assertion*: but how stands the notorious FACT?

Why, the *Orientalists* have been quite as much misled as the *Occidentals*. For the doctrine of *Christ being made a strictly proper piacular sacrifice* was no way peculiar to the Latin Church of the *West*. From the earliest times, it has equally prevailed in the various Churches of the *East*: notwithstanding Dr. Priestley's assurance, that the phraseology of the Gospel, in regard to the sacrificial character of Christ, *there imposes upon nobody*. See Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 200, 201, 264, 265. Barnab. Epist. § vii. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vii. Oper. p. 707. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. xiii. p. 122, 130. Euseb. Demons. Evan. lib. i. c. 8. p. 24, 25. Athan. de Incarn. Verb. Oper. vol. i. p. 43. Athan. cont. Arian. Orat. iii. Oper. vol. i. p. 192, 193. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. ix. p. 303.

II. In arguing, however, with Dr. Priestley, on his own gratuitously alleged ground that *Christ is styled A SACRIFICE only metaphorically or figuratively*, I concede far too much.

1. To a modern antitrinitarian speculatist, the theory of *Orientalism* may be sufficiently commodious: and Scripture, indeed, has, no doubt, *its own* figurative language: but *here*, in truth, the theory, advocated by Dr. Priestley, is wholly inapplicable.

(1.) When, in allusion to the lamb which under the Levitical Dispensation was daily offered up in sacrifice, Christ is called *The Lamb of God* and is described as *A Lamb that had been slain*; or when, in similar allusion to the paschal lamb, it is said of him, *Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us*: in each of these cases, tropical language is clearly and indisputably employed;

for no man, let him be oriental or occidental, will contend, I presume, that our Lord was *literally* the ovine animal which was used both as the daily sacrifice and as the paschal sacrifice.

*Here*, every thing is, at once, self-evident to the meanest comprehension: *here*, every thing is, at once, instinctively manifest to that *common sense*, which Dr. Priestley would have us bring to the reading of the Scriptures.

(2.) But will he, or any admirer of his, pretend to say: that *The circumstance of Christ being called A SACRIFICE is no less indisputably a trope, than the circumstance of Christ being called A LAMB?*

To make any such assertion is to carry the very brand of absurdity impressed upon the forehead of the asserter.

A man, as we all know, may *literally* be A SACRIFICE: for, in almost every age and country, human victims have been *literally* devoted.

But, as we all likewise know, it is a perfectly clear case: that a man cannot *literally* be A LAMB.

Hence, when a man is styled *a sacrifice* and when an animal is styled *a sacrifice*, Dr. Priestley can have no right, *prima facie*, to say: that a scheme of phraseology, which in one case is confessedly *literal*, in the other cast MUST of necessity be tropical.

In making this assertion, he begs the very matter in debate.

When, under the Law, a lamb or a bullock is called *a sacrifice*: is it so styled by virtue of a trope? An answer will readily be given in the negative.

When, under the Gospel, Christ is called *a sacrifice*: is he so styled by virtue of a trope? Dr. Priestley peremptorily answers in the affirmative.

Yet, on the principles of just interpretation, what *right* has he thus dogmatically to insist upon giving an affirmative answer? Where, from *common sense*, which he invokes to his aid, has he any PROOF, that no answer save an affirmative answer *can* be given?

In the bare language itself, as is clear from the case

of the lamb or the bullock, there is nothing NECESSARILY tropical.

When Christ is styled A LAMB, we are undoubtedly *bound* to pronounce such language tropical language. But, when Christ is styled A SACRIFICE, we are *no way bound* to pronounce such language a trope or a figure. For, though a man can never *literally* be A LAMB: it is quite clear, that he may *literally* be A SACRIFICE.

Hence it is evident: that Dr. Priestley, in roundly pronouncing the present scriptural phraseology to be tropical, and in dogmatically placing it to the score of that convenient thing called *Orientalism*, is, in effect, assuming the very point which he ought to have proved.

How does he *know*: that the circumstance of *Christ being styled* A SACRIFICE is tropical; while the circumstance of *A bullock or a lamb being equally styled* A SACRIFICE is confessedly *not tropical*?

The interpretation of the Catholic Church, both oriental and occidental, from the very beginning itself, is positively against him: and, if we adopt his view of the matter, we have absolutely nothing to build upon, save his own gratuitous unsupported assertion.

2. But, even independently of the judgment of the Church Catholic, we may, from an honest examination of the New Testament itself, readily learn the notion, under which Christ is denominated A SACRIFICE.

(1.) As at present I am obliged to consult brevity, I know not where we can more commodiously or more reasonably turn for information than to a treatise, if such there be, professedly written on the subject.

Happily, a treatise of this exact description will be found in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews.

Of that most valuable Work the special object is, to explain the ancient Ritual Law, and to shew its bearing upon Christianity. In such a Work, tropes and metaphors would be palpably misplaced. They would darken, not illustrate, the sub-



ject. The Apostle is writing *a treatise*, not *a poem*. He speaks as an expositor, not as a rhetorician. Upon Christ himself he bestows no figurative names. He is simply shewing the connection of the Law and the Gospel. He is merely illustrating the true character of the Redeemer by a systematic adduction of the ritual observances of the Levitical Dispensation.

(2.) In prosecuting this plan, what does the inspired Apostle tell us?

He declares, in general: that *The Law was a shadow of good things to come*. And he asserts, in particular: that *The sacrifices under the Law prefigured and represented the sacrifice of Christ under the Gospel*.

Throughout the whole treatise, these two ideas are industriously twined together. What the sacrifices of lambs and of bullocks were to the Jews, the sacrifice of Christ is to Christians. With whatever notion the former were sacrificed, with the self-same notion also was the latter sacrificed.

The efficacy, indeed, of the former, was purely typical: while the efficacy of the latter is real and substantial. But still the bestial victims under the Law, and the human victim under the Gospel, were, respectively, a sacrifice, in one and the same sense of the word *sacrifice*.

Unless this be conceded, we must indeed admit the Apostle to be a most *inconclusive reasoner*. For, be it observed, he is not dealing rhetorically in *tropes*; but he is prosecuting *a systematic argumentation*: he is not indulging in the *figures* of prophecy or of poetry; but he is at once *explaining* the typical character of the legal sacrifices by the solid character of the christian sacrifice, and *propounding* the true nature of the christian sacrifice by the already familiar nature of the legal sacrifices.

If the antitrinitarian scheme be the truth, and if Dr. Priestley be a sound expositor of what is written concerning the sacrifice of Christ: never surely did man take more hearty pains to perplex a very plain subject and to conduct the whole multitude

of the faithful into gross error, than St. Paul did. If there be no greater resemblance between *the sacrifice of Christ* and *the sacrifices under the Law* than what Dr. Priestley is willing to allow : never surely was a train of *avowed illustrative exposition* more infelicitously and more injudiciously chosen, than that which has been selected by the Apostle.

Instead of *illustrating*, his exposition serves only to *darken* : instead of *teaching*, it serves only to *mislead*. The fault is inherent in the very *mode* of instruction which has been adopted. For darkness and confusion and misapprehension *must* always be the result, whenever *one* matter is expressly declared to be the very double or shadow of *another* matter : while yet, in the most striking and important point, nay in that very point moreover on which the writer specially insists, there is, between the two, *no sort of mutual resemblance*.

Verily, on any principles of that *common sense* which Dr. Priestley claims so eminently to patronise, the behaviour of St. Paul is quite unaccountable.

According to Dr. Priestley, his object was to teach : that, *Although Christ might orientally be called A SACRIFICE, because he died in the service of virtue and for the purpose of procuring the greatest possible benefit to the human race ; yet he was NO REAL SACRIFICE FOR SIN in any such sense, as were the piacular sacrifices under the Levitical Dispensation.*

Such, according to Dr. Priestley, was the object of St. Paul in his illustrative exposition of the ancient sacrificial ritual.

Nevertheless, in *avowed pursuance* of this object, and for *the purpose* of more effectually demonstrating that the death of Christ was *no real or literal sacrifice* : the Apostle strangely illustrates that death, under the very name of *a sacrifice*, by those legal sacrifices of animals, which were well known to be *strictly piacular*, and respecting which every one must perceive that *Not any one of the sacrificed animals could be said to have died in the cause of virtue*. In other words, he illustrates the death of Christ by certain rites and ordinances, which, in point of nature and principle, were essentially and altogether *dissimi-*

*lar* : he proves that death to be *no* real sacrifice, by the professedly comparative adduction of what *were* real sacrifices : he demonstrates it to be *not* piacular, by placing it in the same class or in studied juxta-position with what confessedly *were* piacular.

Nor is this done hastily and briefly and carelessly and incidentally. On the contrary, the illustration is worked up elaborately and prolongedly through a whole treatise : *the strict ideal affinity of animal sacrifices under the Law and of the sacrifice of Christ under the Gospel* being, in truth, the very subject of the treatise itself. And, wherever, in *other* writings by the same author, the same topic is (as it were) parergically introduced : still the *identical illustration* is employed which pervades the entire of the *regular treatise*.

Certainly, if such were the *object* and such the *plan* pursued by St. Paul, it is small wonder : that his illustration and his phraseology should *infallibly mislead* the whole Catholic Church in every age and country. Certainly it is small wonder : that Cyril and Augustine, speaking the old familiar sense of the Universal Christian Community, should lay it down, from the language of the Apostle, as a matter past all reasonable contradiction ; that *Christ, like the piacular sacrifices under the Law, was a strict and proper sin-offering*.

Ὁ Πάνσοφος Παῦλος γέγραφέ που περι τε τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· Τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἀμαρτίαν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησε. Θῦμα γὰρ γέγονεν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτίας. Ὠνομάζοντο δὲ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν σφαζόμενα.—Πρόδηλον δὴ που καὶ ἅπασιν ἐναργές, ὡς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αἰνίγμασι μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς δι' αὐτῶν σημαينوμένοις τὸ ἀληθές ἐκφαίνεται. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἄμωμον θῦμα, τὸ ἀβέβηλον ἱερεῖον, οὗ τεθνεῶτος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα, γεγόναμεν ἡμεῖς ἀποπομπαῖοι, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀπεφοιτήσαμεν θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς· ἐκλελυτρώμεθα γὰρ τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. ix. p. 303, 304.

Dicit Apostolus : *Obsecramus pro Christo, reconciliamini Deo. Eum, qui non noverat peccatum, pro nobis peccatum fecit ; ut nos simus justitia Dei in ipso. Deus ergo, cui reconciliamur,*



fecit eum pro nobis peccatum ; id est sacrificium per quod dimitterentur nostra peccata : quoniam *peccata* vocantur sacrificia pro peccatis. Et utique ipse pro peccatis nostris immolatus est, nullum habens vitium, solus in hominibus quale quærebatur tunc in pecoribus quo significabatur unus sine vitio ad vitia sananda venturus. August. contra Pelag. et Celest. de peccat. original. lib. ii. c. 32. Oper. vol. vii. p. 304.

III. Abundantly manifest as it is, that there is neither trope nor metaphor in the fact of Christ being so repeatedly called *a sacrifice*, but that our merciful Saviour really *is* what he is perpetually *denominated* : it can only be a matter of curiosity to learn what Dr. Priestley means, when he says ; that *Our Lord might orientally be described as a sacrifice, because he died in the cause of virtue and for the purpose of procuring the greatest possible benefit to the human race.*

1. With respect to *his dying in the cause of virtue*, it is readily allowed : that, by no uncommon figure of speech, we are wont to say ; that *a man became the victim of malice*, or that *he fell a sacrifice to his opinions.*

According to the purport of such phraseology, Socrates was a victim, and Paul was a sacrifice. With a similar idea, Christ himself also, no doubt, may be figuratively styled *a sacrifice* and *a victim* : for, as Dr. Priestley very truly remarks, he certainly *died in the cause of virtue.*

(1.) But this *possibility* of language is not exactly the point.

The question is not : whether Christ *might not* be figuratively called *a victim*, just as Socrates and Paul might be similarly designated, because *he died in the cause of virtue.*

But the question is : whether this *can really be* the sense, in which by the inspired writers he is styled *a sacrifice.*

(2.) Now I will be bold to say : that, if plain *common sense* only be consulted (an operation, in the present inquiry, specially recommended by Dr. Priestley) ; we shall soon perceive, that our Lord is NEVER called *a sacrifice* in any such figurative sense as that of *dying in the cause of virtue.*

St. Paul, with an eye to his own approaching martyrdom,

speaks of himself as *being now ready to be offered up*: Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι. But does he thence take occasion industriously to draw out, through an entire treatise, a long parallel between himself and the animal victims which were offered up under the Levitical Dispensation: intimating, at the same time, that the precise reference, which *they* bore to the Hebrew Church, *he* bore to the Christian Church? Nothing of the sort: he briefly uses a very common figure of speech after a manner in which it was impossible for him to be misunderstood.

Does he then pursue the same plan, when he speaks of Christ being *a sacrifice*? So far from it, the difference is such that it may absolutely be touched and felt. When he speaks of *himself* being offered up: he *briefly* and *transiently* uses a figure of speech, with which we are all familiar, and from which no doctrinal conclusion can possibly be deduced. But, when he speaks of *Christ* being a sacrifice: he is writing *a professed treatise* upon the nature and object of the Ceremonial Law; and, in this *systematic treatise*, he unequivocally declares, that *Christ was a sacrifice in the very same sense that lambs and bullocks were sacrifices under the Levitical Dispensation*. Heb. x. 1—14. If then lambs and bullocks can be said *to die victims in the cause of virtue*, or if lambs and bullocks can be said *to fall a sacrifice to the opinions which they maintained*; Dr. Priestley's proposed orientalism, though the primitive Church knew nothing of it, may peradventure in the abstract be tenable: but, conversely, if not; not. Under *whatever idea* lambs and bullocks were sacrificed for sin during the continuance of the Levitical Dispensation: under *that same idea*, as we learn most plainly from the elaborate systematic treatise of St. Paul, was Christ sacrificed at the ratification of the Evangelical Covenant.

2. But, though Dr. Priestley denies Christ to have been a sacrifice in the proper and legitimate sense of the word, he is ready to acknowledge: not only that *he died in the cause of virtue*, but even that *he died for the purpose of procuring the greatest possible benefit to the human race*.

(1.) What, then, is this *greatest possible benefit*? Dr. Priestley explains the whole matter in the course of the tractate, whence I have already made a very copious citation.

*If Christ lived and died, says he, to ascertain and exemplify the doctrine of a future state, and if (as hath been represented) it was impossible that this should have been done without his actual death and resurrection; he certainly died for us or on our account: and, without his death, the great end of his mission, our salvation from sin, could not have been gained.* One great End. Works, vol. vii. p. 216.

Christ then, according to Dr. Priestley, was a sacrifice, because he died and rose again to ascertain and exemplify the doctrine of a future state. But, without his actual death and resurrection, this could not have been done. Therefore, without his death, our salvation from sin could not have been procured.

(2.) I am obliged to confess, that I cannot discern the force of any part of this reasoning.

Even if we admit the statement of his premises to be perfectly unexceptionable: still nothing can be more woefully illogical than the conclusion, which Dr. Priestley has drawn from them.

The premises are: that *Christ was a sacrifice, because, for our benefit, he died and rose again to ascertain and to exemplify the doctrine of a future state.* The conclusion from these premises is: that, *Without his death, our salvation from sin could not have been procured.*

Now such a conclusion will by no means legitimately follow from such premises. On the theory of Dr. Priestley, Christ's death and resurrection might, we will say, be necessary to ascertain *the doctrine of a future state*: but I see not, according to Dr. Priestley's estimate of them, how either his death or his resurrection could be *essentials*, without which *our salvation from sin* could not have been procured. Certainly, from his avowed premises, by no dialectic machinery with which I am acquainted, can this most singular conclusion be extracted.



The only legitimate syllogism, which can be framed upon them, will stand in manner following.

*It is quite easy to conceive: that salvation from sin might practically have been procured WITHOUT any knowledge of the doctrine of a future state.*

*But nothing more, than the doctrine of a future state, could be ascertained by the death and resurrection of Christ.*

*Therefore, WITHOUT either his death or his resurrection, our salvation from sin, on Dr. Priestley's own principles, might very well have been procured.*

The palpable fault, in short, of Dr. Priestley's reasoning, is this.

*He makes the attainment and exemplification of the doctrine of a future state AN ESSENTIAL, without which our salvation from sin could not have been gained.*

But, as this position is in no wise established by his syllogism: so, in point of fact, it is absolutely untrue.

There is no conceivable reason: why, through a sufficient moral discipline and (as the Catholic will add) through the meritorious passion of Christ, salvation from sin might not have been gained by the human race, without *any* ascertainment and exemplification of the doctrine of a future state. Reformed man might have been *saved* from sin in a future state, even if it had *not* pleased God previously to *reveal* and *establish* its actual existence.

Thus glaringly illogical is Dr. Priestley's reasoning, even if we admit the statement of his premises to be perfectly unexceptionable: but, in truth, the entire management of his argument evinces a hopeless confusion of ideas not a little marvellous and extraordinary.

That *the resurrection of Christ from the dead* was necessary to ascertain and exemplify, at least to our bodily senses, the doctrine of a future state: I can readily understand. But I cannot perceive: that *his VIOLENT death upon the cross*, the ONLY circumstance which even in Dr. Priestley's orientalised sense of the word could constitute him *a sacrifice*, was *at all* necessary for that great object.

The circumstance, which was necessary to ascertain and exemplify the doctrine of a future state, was not *our Lord's* VIOLENT *death*, but *his triumphant resurrection*. So far as Dr. Priestley's statement of the matter is concerned, there was not the slightest NEED of *Christ's* VIOLENT *death* or (as our expositor would say) of *Christ's figuratively becoming a SACRIFICE*. Every end, respecting the ascertainment of a future state, would have been answered just as well, if he had quietly died a NATURAL *death*. For let us suppose that he had died a *natural death*, and that afterward at the end of a month (when *the fact of his death* could not be doubted) he had triumphantly risen from the grave: would not (provided only *the fact of his death* were sufficiently established) the doctrine of a future state have been quite as much ascertained and exemplified by *the circumstance of his resurrection*, as if his death had been effected by the hand of *violence*?

The truth is, Dr. Priestley has oddly confounded together, as JOINTLY constituting a SINGLE proof, the two perfectly distinct facts of *Christ's violent death* and *Christ's triumphant resurrection*.

Now that common sense, which he so warmly patronises, may itself teach us: that *the death of Christ*, whether VIOLENT OR NATURAL, could be no proof or exemplification of a future state.

The reality of this state could only be ascertained and exemplified by *the fact of Christ's resurrection*: and such proof and exemplification would be equally procured by *the fact of his resurrection*, whether he had suffered a *violent death* or whether he had quietly died a *natural death*.

Hence it is sufficiently clear: that, on the scheme of Dr. Priestley, there was no sort of occasion for *Christ's violent death on the cross*; notwithstanding so much is said, on that precise point, in Holy Scripture. So far as the doctrine of a future state is concerned, such a death was wholly superfluous and useless. To say, therefore, on his own principles, as Dr. Priestley says; that, *without Christ's death*, that is to say, with-

out Christ's VIOLENT death (for, through no other death, can the historian even *orientalise* him into A SACRIFICE of any description), *the great end of his mission, our salvation from sin, could not have been gained*: to make such an assertion as this is plainly, under every possible aspect, most inaccurate and most illogical.

The great end of Christ's mission was *our salvation from sin*.

But, in the first place, *the proof and exemplification of the doctrine of a future state* is no way *essentially* necessary to the accomplishment of this purpose: and, in the second place, even if it *were* essentially necessary, still, according to Dr. Priestley's view of the whole question, *the proof and exemplification of the doctrine of a future state*, and thence *the accomplishment of the great end of Christ's mission*, might have been effected just as well by a *resurrection after a natural death* as by a *resurrection after a violent death*.

To assert, consequently; that *Christ died for us or on our account, because he died a violent death, and thus became a figurative sacrifice, for the purpose of ascertaining and exemplifying the doctrine of a future state*: is palpably, on Dr. Priestley's system, most untrue and most incorrect.

In fact, that whole system, when legitimately stated according to its necessary and inevitable bearings, goes directly to maintain, in evident defiance of Scripture and in presumptuous contempt of God's predetermined counsels, THE UTTER INUTILITY OF CHRIST'S VIOLENT DEATH UPON THE CROSS.



## NUMBER VII.

RESPECTING THE TEXT CONTAINED IN Heb. i. 3.

---

THE text, which occurs in Heb. i. 3, I have briefly noticed as the mother text, from which originated, and upon which were founded, the language and doctrine, common alike to the Antenicene Fathers and to the Nicene Creed: that *The Son is derivatively from the Father, as light is from light.*

Whence it was concluded: that *The Son from the Father is true God from true God, inasmuch as light from light is true light from true light; the Son with the Father being consubstantial, just as light with light is consubstantial.* See above, book ii. chap. 10. § II. 2.

This text, however, which may justly be deemed the special scriptural basis of the doctrine of *Consubstantiality*, deserves, from its high importance, a somewhat more extended consideration.

The following is the form, wherein it stands in the original Greek of the inspired Writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Ὁς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτήρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

I. In our common English Version, this place, somewhat inadequately, not to say inaccurately, is translated as follows.

*Who being the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person.*

1. By thus rendering the passage, our translators, in the first place, lose all the force of the preposition ἀπὸ in composition.

For ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης is, not merely *the brightness of his glory*, but *the refulgence FROM his glory*: the refulgence itself emanating from the primordial glory of the Father.

2. And, in the second place, they exhibit the word ὑποστάσεως, as here meaning *person*: whereas, in truth, it here means *substance* or *essence* or *subsistence*.

II. The translation of Bishop Bull is more correct than that of our vulgar English: for he justly renders ὑποστάσεως by *essentiæ*. But he has equally pretermitted, what I deem the peculiar force of ἀπαύγασμα: for he simply renders it *splendor*, as if the Apostle had written uncompoundedly αὐγασμα.

*Splendor paternæ gloriæ, character essentiæ ipsius.* Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. sect. ii. c. 4. § 5.

III. On these considerations, I would render the passage in manner following.

*Who being the refulgence from his glory and the very impress of his substance.*

With respect to my translation of ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, the phrase at once speaks for itself. But it may be proper to state the grounds, why, in common with Bishop Bull, who has not professedly entered upon the subject, I would render ὑποστάσεως by *substance* rather than by *person*.

1. For the convenience of preciseness of expression, while the word οὐσία was employed to denote *substance* or *essence*, the word ὑπόστασις was at length EXCLUSIVELY employed to denote *person* or *personal subsistence*.

Hence, when this system of phraseology was finally adopted, there were said to be three ὑποστάσεις in the single οὐσία of the Godhead.

But, anterior to the Nicene Council, the sense of the word ὑπόστασις was by no means thus limited. For it was originally employed to denote, not only *person* or *personal subsistence*, but likewise *subsistence in the sense of essence or substance*: in which essence or substance more than one person may participate.

2. This circumstance is remarked by Jerome in one of his

Epistles to Damasus : and, perhaps not very reasonably, the irritable Father seems to have been a good deal dissatisfied with this limitation of the term. For he labours under the impression : that, by alleging the existence of three ὑποστάσεις in the Deity, we might be misunderstood as alleging the heretical notion of three distinct and mutually different *substances*.

Nunc igitur, proh dolor, post nicænam fidem, post alexandrinum juncto pariter Occidente decretum, TRIUM HYPOSTASEON, ab Arianorum præsule et Campensibus, novellum a me, homine romano, nomen exigitur.

Qui, quæso, ista apostoli prodidere ? Quis novus magister gentium Paulus hæc docuit ?

Interrogamus : *Quid* TRES HYPOSTASES *posse arbitrentur intelligi ?*

*Tres personas subsistentes*, aiunt.

Respondemus : Nos ita credere. Non sufficit sensus : nomen ipsum efflagitant ; quia nescio quid veneni in syllabis latet.

Clamamus : *Si quis* TRES HYPOSTASES *aut* TRIA ENYPOSTATA, *hoc est, Tres subsistentes personas, non confitetur, anathema sit.* Et, quia vocabula non ediscimus, hæretici judicamur.

Si quis autem, Hypostasin USIAN intelligens, non in tribus personis unam hypostasim dicit : alienus a Christo est. Et, sub hac confessione, vobiscum pariter, cauterio unionis inurimur.

Discernite, si placet, obsecro : non timebo TRES HYPOSTASES dicere.—

Tota sæcularium litterarum schola nihil aliud HYPOSTASIN, nisi USIAN, novit. Et quis, røgo, ore sacrilego, TRES SUBSTANTIAS prædicabit ? Unâ est Dei et sola natura, quæ vere est.—

Sufficiat nobis dicere : *Unam substantiam, tres personas subsistentes, perfectas, æquales, coæternas.* Taceantur TRES HYPOSTASES, si placet : et UNA teneatur. Hieron. Epist. ad Damas. lvii. Oper. vol. i. p. 163.

(1.) In asserting it to be new phraseology to say, that *There are THREE HYPOSTASES in the one Deity* : Jerome, most assuredly, is mistaken.

The word ὑπόστασις had been used, anterior to the first



Council of Nice, in the sense both of *person* and of *substance*, or in the sense both of *a personal subsistence* and of *a substratic essence*. To Jerome, a Latin, it was familiar only in the latter sense. Hence, when it came to be, by general consent, EXCLUSIVELY employed in the sense of *person* or *personal subsistence*; while *οὐσία* was reserved, EXCLUSIVELY also, to denote *substance* or *substratic essence*: Jerome was scandalised; because he imagined, that *The assertion of THREE HYPOSTASES in the Godhead was an assertion of THREE SUBSTANCES*.

(2.) Any dispute, respecting mere phraseology, may, at least with *reasonable* polemics, be at once settled by accuracy of definition.

3. The same circumstance, of *ὑπόστασις* having been employed to denote *substance*, was well known also, as we may naturally suppose, to the Greek Athanasius.

Hence, for the avowed purpose of shewing; that *Origen, in common with Theognostus and Dionysius of Alexandria, maintained the doctrine of the CONSUBSTANTIALITY of the Son with the Father*: he cites a passage from that writer, in which the word *οὐσία* indeed or the word *ὁμοούσιος* occurs not, but in which the doctrine is taught through the medium of the word *ὑπόστασις* which Origen there uses in the sense of *οὐσία*.

This passage, which, because it contains not the precise term *οὐσία* or *ὁμοούσιος*, I previously omitted to quote along with other passages asserting the tenet of CONSUBSTANTIALITY (book ii. chap. 10. § II. 1. note.), is highly important, not merely as shewing the doctrine of Origen himself, but as teaching us how the text in the Epistle to the Hebrews was interpreted in the early Church.

(1.) Origen deduces from it the doctrine of CONSUBSTANTIALITY: and the mode, in which he effects this, is by understanding the Apostle's word *ὑποστάσεως* in the sense of *οὐσίας* or *substance*, and by then arguing that *The Son cannot but be consubstantial with the Father, because he is a refulgence from the Paternal Glory and therefore homogeneous Light from homogeneous Light*.

Εἰ ἔστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, ἀόρατος εἰκὼν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τολμήσας προσθείην ἄν, ὅτι καὶ ὁμοίότης τυγχάνων τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. Πότε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην φῶς λεγόμενος (ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ φῶς ἐστίν), ἀπαύγασμα οὐκ εἶχε τῆς ἰδίας δόξης; Ἴνα τολμήσας τις ἀρχὴν δῶ εἶναι Υἱοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ὄντος. Πότε δὲ ἡ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ ἀφθέγκτου ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰκὼν, ὁ χαρακτήρ Λόγος, ὁ γινώσκων τὸν Πατέρα, οὐκ ἦν; Κατανοεῖτω γὰρ ὁ τολμῶν καὶ λέγων, ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱός, ὅτι ἐρεῖ καὶ τὸ, σοφία ποτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ Λόγος οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ζωὴ οὐκ ἦν. Orig. apud Athan. Synod. Nic. cont. hæer. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 423.

(2.) Yet, though, as Athanasius rightly judged, Origen understands, in the sense of *substance* or *essence*, the word *ὑπόστασις* as employed in the text from the Epistle to the Hebrews: he scruples not elsewhere to use the word in that sense of *person*, to which, for the convenience of precision (notwithstanding the complaints of Jerome) it was afterward EXCLUSIVELY confined.

Ἡμεῖς μέντοιγε τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι τυγχάνειν, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Comment. in Johann. tom. ii. Oper. vol. ii. p. 56.

Εἰ δέ τις ἐκ τούτων περισπασθήσεται, μή πη αὐτομολοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας δύο εἶναι ὑποστάσεις Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν.—Θρησκευόμεν οὖν τὸν Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. viii. p. 386.

4. The text in the Epistle to the Hebrews, thus, by the consent of the primitive Church, and indeed by the very necessity of intelligible language authoritatively propounding the doctrine of the *Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father* and thence by inevitable consequence the doctrine of the *true divinity of the Son*: we may now add, to the host of Antenicenes who harmoniously assert the dogma of *Consubstantiality*, the venerable Clement of Rome, that fellow-labourer of St. Paul whose name is in the book of life.

(1.) Evidently on the authority of the text before us, as ap-

pears both from the general context of the place and likewise from its express phraseology, Clement calls our Lord *the refulgence from the majesty of the Father*.

Ὁς ὦν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλωσύνης αὐτοῦ. Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Corinth. i. § 36. Cotel. Patr. Apost. vol. i. p. 168.

But, by thus designating him, Clement avows his own belief to be : that *Christ is light from light, and, consequently, true God from true God*.

(2.) In exact accordance with this belief, he professes, in a most valuable fragment preserved by Basil, to hold : that the true living subsistence, as contradistinguished from the dead gods of the Gentiles (agreeably to the just remark of Bishop Bull), is *God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit*; by the *true God* meaning *the Father*, who, by the early writers is commonly thus styled simply, as being the αὐτόθεος or the πηγὴ θεότητος.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης ἀρχαιώτερον Ζῆ, φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον. Basil. Oper. vol. ii. p. 358. Paris. 1637.

(3.) The three holy names, we may observe, he unites together as in the baptismal form, which gave rise to what was emphatically styled *the Symbol of the Trinity* : and, on this union, which the School of Dr. Priestley would persuade us is an union of the Deity and a mere creature and an abstract quality, it is admirably remarked by Athanasius; that *In the very nature and reason of things, there can be no association of the creature with the Creator, no connumeration of the thing made with its Maker*.

Ποία γὰρ κοινωνία τῷ κτίσματι πρὸς Κτιστὴν ; Διατί τὸ πεποιημένον συναριθμεῖται τῷ Ποιήσαντι εἰς τὴν τῶν πάντων τελείωσιν ; Ἡ διατί ἡ πίστις καθ' ὑμᾶς εἰς Κτιστὴν καὶ ἐν κτίσμα παραδίδοται ; Athan. cont. Arian. Orat. iii. Oper. vol. i. p. 218.

5. Yet, while the early doctors held, on the necessary principle of the text in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that *the Son is very God as being of the same substance with the Father* : they carefully guarded against the notion, that *by the birth of the*



*Son, the substance of the eternal Father was divided as if by abscission; a notion, which would plainly introduce a species of polytheism.*

“Ὅτι δύναμις αὕτη, ἣν καὶ Θεὸν καλεῖ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, διὰ πολλῶν ὡσαύτως ἀποδέδεικται, καὶ ἄγγελον, οὐχ ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὀνόματι μόνον ἀριθμεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν τι ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις διὰ βραχέων τὸν λόγον ἐξήτασα, εἰπὼν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην γεγεννηθῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, δυνάμει καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομὴν, ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας, ὅποια τὰ ἄλλα πάντα μεριζόμενα καὶ τεμνόμενα οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὶν ἃ καὶ πρὶν τμηθῆναι· καὶ παραδείγματος χάριν, παρελήφειν τὰ ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀναπτόμενα πυρὰ ἕτερα ὀρῶμεν, οὐδὲν ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου ἐξ οὗ ἀναφθῆναι πολλὰ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ ταυτοῦ μένοντος. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 281.

IV. Thus, through the medium of the text in the Epistle to the Hebrews, with the primitive Church and by the very necessity of intelligible phraseology, we deduce the doctrine of *the Son's Consubstantiality with the Father* from the express and unequivocal declaration of Scripture.

## NUMBER VIII.

RESPECTING THE PRIMITIVE DOCTRINE OF THE THREE-FOLD GENERATION OF THE WORD OF GOD.

---

THERE is a passage in Tertullian, which, upon a superficial view, might seem to import the inferiority of the Son to the Father, not only in gradation and office and inhumanitation, but likewise, if not in nature, yet in eternity of duration.

As the clearing of it will lead to a statement of the primitive doctrine of the three-fold generation of the Divine Word, I shall here adduce it at large.

*Dei* nomen dicimus semper fuisse apud semetipsum et in semetipso; *Dominum* vero, non semper: diversa enim utriusque conditio. *Deus* substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est divinitatis: *Dominus* vero, non substantiæ, sed potestatis. Substantiam semper fuisse cum suo nomine, quod est Deus: postea Dominus accedentis scilicet rei mentio. Nam, ex quo esse cœperunt in quæ potestas domini ageret; ex illo, per accessionem potestatis, et factus est et dictus *Dominus*: quia et Pater Deus est, et Judex Deus est; non tamen ideo Pater et Judex semper, quia Deus semper. Nam nec Pater potuit esse ante Filium: nec Judex, ante delictum. FUIT AUTEM TEMPUS, CUM ET DELICTUM ET FILIUS NON FUIT: quod Judicem, et qui Patrem, Dominum faceret. Sic et Dominus non ante ea, quorum Dominus existeret; sed Dominus tantum futurus quandoque: sicut Pater per Filium, sicut Judex per delictum; ita et Dominus per ea, quæ sibi servitura fecisset. Tertull. adv. Hermog. § 1. Oper. p. 336.

I. I need scarcely to remark : that, from Tertullian's ignorance of the hebrew language, his whole criticism upon the latin word *Dominus* (most unhappily, from the septuagint greek *Κύριος*, employed to express the hebrew word *Jehovah*, which bears quite a different signification) is completely erroneous.

But, though the criticism itself be erroneous, it fully sets forth the *principle* of Tertullian's reasoning : and thus it will act, as a sort of key to the entire passage.

1. With respect to the prominent clause in the passage now before us, even if we were to allow, that Tertullian denied the eternity of the Son, we should only allow : that a very acute and inquisitive writer was, by the restlessness of his own mind, led to contradict the universal judgment of the Antenicene Church. But, in truth, no such concession either can or ought to be made.

Tertullian denies not the eternity of the second person of the Trinity, in the abstract : he merely, in the concrete, asserts ; that that person did not always exist under the specific character of *the Son*, according to the idea which he would himself annex to the term *Son*.

His opinion is : that, when the first person of the Trinity was pleased, through the agency of the second, to create the world ; at that precise time, in the voluntary divine arrangement of the economy, the second person began to be the Son : so that, although the second person had eternally existed *as* the second person ; he did not begin to exist under the specific character of *the Son*, until the time arrived for the creation of the Universe.

This opinion is distinctly expressed, in a single short sentence, by the ancient author of the Epistle to Diognetus.

*He, who is ETERNAL, is reckoned a Son TODAY.*

Οἷτος Ο ΑΕΙ, ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ Υἱὸς λογισθεῖς. Epist. ad Diognet. in Oper. Justin Martyr. p. 387.

2. That such is his meaning, is evident from the whole tenor both of his statement and of his argument : for the statement and the argument are, manifestly, to the following purpose.



In the same sense that the Son did not always exist, he tells us, that the Father likewise did not always exist: though God himself, *as God*, had existed from, and will exist to, all eternity. For *God* is an absolute term, importing the very essence of the *Divinity*: but *Father* is only a relative term, importing and involving the idea of *Paternity*. Hence, although the Deity in three persons had existed, absolutely as God, from all eternity: still the relative names of *Father* and *Son*, being strictly economical and bearing an immediate reference to the creation of the world, commenced alike at the era of the creation.

3. This speculation of Tertullian, I am no way concerned, either to defend or to oppose: I merely remark, that such *was* his speculation.

His whole assertion, in short, is precisely the same, as if he had said: *There was a time, when there was no Creator; though there never was a time, when there was not God.*

*Absolutely*, God ever existed: *relatively*, he existed not as a Creator until the creation of the world.

4. In reality, if Tertullian had meant to *deny* the eternity of the Son in the same sense that an Arian or a Socinian denies it, he would have flatly contradicted himself. For, in another place, under the absolute name of *Essential Truth*, he directly asserts the eternity of Christ.

Dominus noster Christus *Veritatem* se, non *consuetudinem*, cognominavit. Si SEMPER Christus, et prior omnibus: æque Veritas SEMPITERNA et antiqua res. Tertull. de virgin. veland. § 1. Oper. p. 490.

II. The speculation before us was no way peculiar to Tertullian: and, for the more complete clearing of the matter, it may not be useless to enter yet further upon the subject.

Among the early ecclesiastical writers, the notion of *A procession or a demiurgic generation of the Word in the character of the Son* is by no means uncommon. They seem to have adopted the doctrine, from a combination of John i. 18, with John i. 1—3 and Heb. i. 5, 6.

*Through all eternity, they held, the Word was in the bosom*

of the Father : which bosom of the Father they deemed his special place or habitation. But, when the universe was to be created, the Word, hitherto quiescent, issued forth or proceeded as the Son of God : and then, through his agency, all things were made.

1. Thus Tertullian himself fully explains what he means by saying, that *There was a time when the Son was not*. For he intimates ; that the Word had ALWAYS existed in the essence of God, prior to the creation of the world : and yet he states ; that the demiurgic generation of the Son took place, *immediately before the creation, and for the precise purpose of the creation*.

Aiunt quidem (hæretici) et Genesim in Hebraico ita incipere : *In principio Deus fecit sibi Filium*. Hoc ut firmum non sit, alia me argumenta deducunt ab ipsa Dei dispositione, qua fuit ante mundi constitutionem, adusque Filii generationem. Ante omnia enim Deus erat solus ; ipse sibi et mundus, et locus, et omnia : solus autem, quia nihil extrinsecus præter illum. Cæterum ne tunc quidem solus : habebat enim secum, quam habebat in semetipso, Rationem suam scilicet. Rationalis enim Deus, et Ratio in ipso prius : et ita ab ipso omnia. Quæ Ratio sensus ipsius est, hanc Græci Λόγον dicunt : quo vocabulo etiam Sermonem appellamus.—Tunc igitur etiam ipse Sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem, cum dicit Deus : *Fiat Lux*. Hæc est nativitas perfecta Sermonis, dum ex Deo procedit : conditus ab eo primum ad cogitatum in nomine Sophiæ ; *Deus condidit me initium viarum* : dehinc generatus ad effectum ; *Cum pararet cælum, aderam illi* : exinde eum parem sibi faciens, de quo procedendo Filius factus est ; primogenitus, ut ante omnia genitus ; et unigenitus, ut solus ex Deo genitus ; propriè de vulva cordis ipsius, secundum quod et Pater ipse testatur, *Eructavit cor meum Sermonem optimum*. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 3, 4. Oper. p. 407, 408.

2. To the same purpose speaks Athenagoras, relative to the ETERNAL existence of the Word in the bosom of the Father anterior to his prolation for the purpose of creating the universe.

Πρῶτον γέννημα εἶναι (τὸν Παῖδα) τῷ Πατρὶ, οὐχ ὡς γεγόμενον· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς, νοῦς ἀίδιος ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Λόγον, ἀίδίως λογικὸς ὢν. Athenag. Legat. § x. p. 38, 39.

3. In like manner also, Theophilus of Antioch, after calling the second person of the Trinity, *The Word who is EVER inherent in the heart of God*, Λόγον τὸν ὄντα ΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΟΣ ἐνδιάθετον ἐν καρδίᾳ Θεοῦ, proceeds to state: that, when God wished to create whatever he had purposed, he begat this Word in the way of prolation, born before the whole creation.

Ὅποτε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐγέννησε προφορικὸν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως. Theoph. ad Autol. lib. ii. § 22. p. 365.

4. The same doctrine, likewise, we find propounded by that very early Father, Justin Martyr.

Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς προβληθὲν γέννημα πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων συνῆν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πατὴρ προσομιλεῖ, ὡς ὁ λόγος διὰ τοῦ Σολομῶνος ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι καὶ ἀρχὴ πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ γέννημα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐγεγέννητο, ὁ Σοφία διὰ Σολομῶνος καλεῖται. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 222.

Ὅτι γεγεννησθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦτο τὸ γέννημα πρὸ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν κτισμάτων, ὁ λόγος ἐδήλου· καὶ, τὸ γεννώμενον τοῦ γεννῶντος ἀριθμῷ ἕτερόν ἐστι, πᾶς ὅστις οὖν ὁμολογήσειε. Ibid. p. 281.

5. His contemporary Irenæus, also, similarly maintains the ETERNAL existence of the Word with the Father, prior both to his creation of the world and to his assumption of the nature of his creature man.

Ostenso manifestè, quod in principio Verbum existens apud Deum; per quem omnia facta sunt, qui et semper aderat generi humano; hunc novissimis temporibus, secundum præfinitum tempus a Patre, unitum suo plasmati, passibilem hominem factum: exclusa est omnis contradictio dicentium; *Si ergo tunc natus est, non erat antè Christus*. Ostendimus enim, quia non tunc cœpit Filius Dei, existens SEMPER apud Patrem. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. iii. c. 20. p. 208.



III. Under this view of the question, the ancients attributed to the Divine Word a three-fold generation.

1. So far as his essential nature is concerned, the Word of God was begotten of the Father from all eternity; as an eternal river from an eternal fountain, as an eternal germination from an eternal root, as an eternal ray from an eternal sun: so that there never was a time, when the Word of God existed not in the bosom of the Father.

Hence, as thus peculiarly and physically existing in the bosom of the Father, he is, as the Apostle speaks, *the ONLY-BEGOTTEN Son*.

Ὁ μονογενῆς Υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς. Johan. i. 18.

2. Yet the Word proceeded from the Father energetically, when he went forth from him to create the universe: and this procession or prolation the early writers were accustomed to view as the demiurgic generation of the Son, in which (according to Tertullian) the Word first assumed the character of a Son to the Father.

Hence he is denominated *the FIRST-BORN of the whole creation* or *him who was BORN BEFORE the whole creation*.

Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. Coloss. i. 1 5

3. Again, when the same Word came down from the bosom of the Father, and entered into the womb of the Virgin, and of her became man through the obumbration of the Holy Ghost: this also was esteemed a generation or birth of the Divine Word in the character of the Son of God.

Hence, under this aspect, the predicted Christ is, by the angel, expressly called *the Son of God* or *the Son of the Most High*.

Υἱὸς Ὑψίστου κληθήσεται.—Κληθήσεται Υἱὸς Θεοῦ. Luc. i. 32, 35.

IV. It may be proper here to remark: that, for the purpose of describing the prolation of the Son from the substance of the Father, some of the early ecclesiastical writers occasionally cite the greek mistranslation of Prov. viii. 22; in which mistransla-

tion the Divine Wisdom is said to have been *created* by the Lord.

Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

Such, for instance, is the case, with Justin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Dionysius of Rome.

But, while they doubtless cite this text from the Greek of the Seventy, common equity requires: that their *principle* of citation should be explained by *themselves*; and that they should not be hastily set down, by some rapid antitrinitarian speculatist, as teaching the *creation* of the Son, because they quote a text, which, in a palpable mistranslation, describes the Divine Wisdom as having been *created* (ἐκτίσει) by the Lord.

1. Now Justin Martyr expressly tells us: that he understands the word ἐκτίσει, in no other sense than that of *begetting*. For, though he cites the mistranslated text, he cites it for the avowed purpose of proving: that God the Father *begat* (γεγέννηκε) from himself the Power, which is called *God the Son* or *The Word of God*. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 221. Compare Ibid. p. 281.

2. Athenagoras, in like manner, cites the text to shew: that the Son was the first *offspring* (πρῶτον γέννημα) to the Father; that he was NOT produced in the way of *making* (οὐχ ὡς γενόμενον); but that he was *eternally inherent* (εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Λόγον, αἰδίως λογικὸς ὢν) in the Father. Athenag. Legat. § x. p. 38—40. Now the whole of this language is plainly incompatible with the idea of *creation* in our sense of the term.

3. So likewise Tertullian professes to consider the word ἐκτίσει, as synonymous with *begetting*. Therefore he evidently views it, as NOT involving the notion of any proper *creation*.

Denique, ut necessarium sensit ad opera mundi, statim eam (scil. Sophiam) condit et generat in seipso. Dominus, inquit, condidit me initium viarum suarum in opera sua. Tertull. adv. Herm. § 8. Oper. p. 343.

4. Even yet more express, if it be possible, is Dionysius of Rome. For he actually troubles himself, with what might well

have been spared, had he consulted the original Hebrew of the Book of Proverbs : he actually troubles himself with a criticism, by which he would shew ; that the verb *ἔκτισε* does not necessarily convey the idea of *creation*, but that in the text from the Book of Proverbs it ought to be understood in the sense of *setting a person over a thing* : and the very ground of his criticism is AN EXPRESS DENIAL THAT THE SON IS A CREATURE.

Οὐ μείον δ' ἂν τις καταμémφοιτο καὶ τοὺς ποίημα τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι δοξάζοντας, καὶ γεγονέναι τὸν Κύριον, ὡσπερ ἓν τι ὄντως γενομένων, νομίζοντας τῶν θείων λογίων, γέννησιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν καὶ πρέπουσαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πλάσιν τινα καὶ ποιήσιν, προσμαρτυρούντων. Βλάσφημον οὖν οὐ τὸ τυχὸν, μέγιστον μὲν οὖν, χειροποίητον, τρόπον τινα, λέγειν τὸν Κύριον. Εἰ γὰρ γέγονεν Υἱὸς, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. Ἄει δὲ ἦν, εἶγε ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἐστὶν ὡς αὐτός φησιν, καὶ εἰ Λόγος καὶ Σοφία καὶ Δύναμις ὁ Χριστός· ταῦτα γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν αἱ θεῖαι λέγουσι γραφαὶ ὡσπερ ἐπίστασθε, ταῦτα δὲ δυνάμεις οὔσαι τοῦ Θεοῦ τυγχάνουσιν. Εἰ τοίνυν γέγονεν ὁ Υἱὸς, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα· ἦν ἄρα καιρὸς, ὅτε χωρὶς τούτων ἦν ὁ Θεός· ἀποπώτατον δὲ τοῦτο. Καὶ τί ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον περὶ τούτων πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαλεγοίμην, πρὸς ἄνδρας πνευματοφόρους καὶ σαφῶς ἐπισταμένους τὰς ἀτοπίας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποίημα λέγειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἀνακυπτούσας; Αἴς μοι δοκοῦσι μὴ προσεσηκέναι τὸν νοῦν οἱ καθηγησάμενοι τῆς δόξης ταύτης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κομιδῇ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διημαρτηκέναι, ἑτέρως ἢ βούλεται ταύτῃ ἡ θεία καὶ προφητικὴ γραφή, τὸ Κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὀδῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐκδεξάμενοι. Οὐ μία γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Ἐκτισεν, ὡς ἴστε, σημασία· Ἐκτισε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἀκουστέον, ἀντὶ τοῦ, Ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονόσιν ἔργοις, γεγονόσι δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· οὐχὶ δέ γε τὸ Ἐκτισε νῦν λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐποίησε· διαφέρει γὰρ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ κτίσαι. Dionys. Rom. apud Athan. Epist. de Synod. Nic. cont. haer. Arian. decret. Oper. vol. i. p. 422. Vide etiam Athan. Ibid. p. 410, 411.

5. In truth, as it has been well remarked by Valesius and Bishop Bull, the Antenicene Writers used the word *κτίζειν* in the extended sense of *production* of any description, whether



*creative* or *generative*: and the preceding authorities amply establish the justice of their remark.

Accordingly, on this principle, Bishop Bull vindicates the phraseology of Clement of Alexandria, in styling the Son, with evident reference to the greek mistranslation of the text in Proverbs *πρωτόκτιστον σοφίαν*.

Ab aliis id etiam in Clemente reprehenditur, quod Filium Dei alicubi dixerit *πρωτόκτιστον σοφίαν*, *primo creatam sapientiam*. Sed frustra prorsus et illi sunt. Nam constat, vocem *κτιστός*, in eo Clementis loco, idem significare quod *γεννητός*; quemadmodum etiam Latinè *creare* dicitur pro *gignere*, ut *Submone creatos*, id est, *progenitos*. Sanè Clementem non existimâsse, Filium Dei esse creaturam, ex iis quæ supra ex ipso attulimus, meridiana luce clarius est.

Subjungam hic verba præstantissimi viri, Henrici Valesii.

*Certè veteres theologi*, inquit, *ac præcipuè ii qui ante Concilii Nicæni tempora scripserunt*, *per vocabulum κρίζειν*, *non solummodo creationem intellexerunt quæ ex nihilo fit, sed omnem generaliter productionem, tam quæ ab æterno esset, quam illam quæ in tempore*. Bull. Defens. Fid. Nic. sect. ii. c. 6. § 8.

## NUMBER IX.

RESPECTING TERTULLIAN'S EXPRESSION, THAT MAN WAS ANIMATED  
FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF GOD.

---

I HAVE cited Tertullian, as one of the many Antenicenes : who, even expressly and in so many words, propounded the catholic doctrine of *The Son's* CONSUBSTANTIALITY *with the Father*. See above, book ii. chap. 10. § II. 1.

Now, respecting the creation of man, this writer employs language : which, because it is liable to misapprehension and perversion, may seem to require a brief examination.

Alluding to Gen. ii. 7, he says : that *Man was animated from the SUBSTANCE of God*.

Recognosce, ut ex imagine et similitudine Dei, quo habes et tu in temetipso rationem, qui es animal rationale, a rationali scilicet artifice non tantum factus, sed etiam ex SUBSTANTIA ipsius animatus. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 3. Oper. p. 407.

I. Language of this somewhat incautious description, which seems to have been used by others before it was employed by Tertullian, gave rise to the not unpalatable objection of Marcion.

Choosing to understand the expression as importing *the absolute consubstantiality of man's spirit with the essence of God* (much in the same manner, I suppose, as the pagan philosophers held the excerpption of human souls from the essence of the Supreme Numen), he urged : that, in that case, *The substance of God is made capable of sin*.

Quoquo tamen, inquis, modo, substantia Creatoris delicti capax invenitur ; cum afflatus Dei, id est, anima in homine, deliquit : nec potest non ad originalem summam referri corruptio portionis. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. ii. § 7. Oper. p. 176.

II. The reply of Tertullian, though it excuses not the unwary incorrectness of the language employed by his predecessors and himself, at least explains it to import no such monstrous opinion as that affixed to it by Marcion.

He answers : that *The breath of God* is not the same as *The Essential Spirit of God*. For, though issuing forth from him, it still is by him created. Consequently, the soul of man, though breathed into him by God, is, nevertheless, a work or created production of God.

In primis, tenendum, quod Græca Scriptura signavit, *afflatum* nominans, non *spiritum*.—Homo imago Dei, id est, spiritus : Deus enim spiritus. Imago ergo spiritûs, afflatus. Porro imago veritati non usquequaque adæquabitur. Aliud est, enim, *secundum veritatem esse* : aliud, *ipsam veritatem esse*.—Denique, cum manifestè Scriptura dicat, *flasse Deum in faciem hominis, et factum hominem in animam vivam*, non in spiritum vivificantem, separavit eam a conditione factoris. Opus enim aliud sit, necesse est, ab artifice ; id est, inferius artifice. Nec urceus enim, factus a figulo, ipse erit figulus : ita nec afflatus, factus a spiritu, ideo erit spiritus. Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. ii. § 7. Oper. p. 176, 177.

Now, in no such inferior creative sense as this, does Tertullian say : that *The Son and the Holy Ghost are OF THE SUBSTANCE of the Father*. His language, as I have already cited it, is far too definite and express to allow of any misapprehension : nor does he ever give it any such qualifying explanation, as he gives his expression respecting man being animated from God's SUBSTANCE.

III. I have thought it right to notice this matter, lest some opponent should peradventure say : that, if Tertullian speaks of *the Son* being OF THE SUBSTANCE of the Father, he also speaks of *man* being animated FROM THE SUBSTANCE of God.

As the two expressions are different in themselves : so Tertullian, we see, as he himself teaches us, does not use them in the same sense.



## NUMBER X.

RESPECTING THE ASCRIPTION OF THE TITLE OF THE SON OF GOD,  
BEING, IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, THE  
SAME AS THE ASCRIPTION OF ESSENTIAL DIVINITY.

---

WHEN our Saviour directly asked his disciples, *Whom they pronounced him to be, or What sentiments they entertained respecting his personal character* : Peter, on behalf of himself and his fellows, promptly answered ; THOU ART THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD.

This reply, specially revealed to the zealous Apostle not by flesh and blood but by direct inspiration from the Father which is in heaven, was so perfectly satisfactory, that it procured for him an eminent blessing : and, with that blessing, was associated a very remarkable and very important declaration.

*Thou art Peter : and UPON THIS ROCK I WILL BUILD MY CHURCH ; AND THE GATES OF HELL SHALL NOT PREVAIL AGAINST IT.* Matt. xvi. 15—18.

I. By the early writers, three several interpretations have been given of THE ROCK upon which our Lord promised thus invincibly to found his Church Universal.

Some, as Tertullian and Cyprian and Chrysostom in *one* part of his Works, supposed THE ROCK to be *the individual Peter* : this high privilege, in consequence of his confession, being specially bestowed upon *him* to the exclusion of all *other* individuals. Tertull. de Pudic. Oper. p. 767, 768. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles. Oper. vol. i. p. 106—108. Cyprian. Epist. Quint. lxxi. Oper. vol. ii. p. 194, 195. Chrysost. Homil. lxxix. in Petr. Apost. et El. Prophet. Oper. vol. i. p. 856.

Others, as Athanasius and Jerome and Augustine, supposed THE ROCK to be *Christ himself*. Athan. Unum esse Christ. Orat. Oper. vol. i. p. 519, 520. Hieron. Comment. in Matt. xvi. 18. lib. iii. Oper. vol. vi. p. 33. August. Expos. in Evan. Johan. Tract. cxxiv. Oper. vol. ix. p. 206.

Others, again, as Justin and Hilary and Chrysostom in *another* part of his Works, supposed THE ROCK to be *Peter's inspired Confession of Faith*. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 255. Hilar. de Trin. lib. vi. Oper. p. 903. Chrysost. Serm. de Pentecost. Oper. vol. vi. p. 233.

1. For the *first* of these three interpretations, there seems to be little assignable reason: save that, in consequence of his Confession, the name of *Cephas* or *Peter* or *Rock* was given to Simon. Whence it is concluded: that, since *Simon* received the appellation of THE ROCK, *he* must, individually, be THE ROCK upon which Christ promised to build his Church.

But this reason is, at once, *insufficient in itself*, and *incongruous alike both with the spirit and with the phraseology of the Gospel*.

(1.) In itself, the reason is *altogether insufficient*. For, according to the genius of hebrew personal nomenclature, the imposition of a significant name is quite as often *commemorative of a fact*, as it is *indicative of an individual's character*.

Whence, as, in the present place, we are no way *bound* to adopt the latter sense: so the imposed name of THE ROCK might seem given, rather to perpetuate the recollection of the heaven-inspired Confession, than to point out Peter himself, as the peculiar foundation of the Church Catholic.

(2.) The reason, moreover, is *incongruous alike both with the spirit and with the phraseology of the Gospel*.

In the highest sense of the word ROCK, it were even impious to deem the mere delegated servant Peter the foundation of that Church which securely rests upon Christ alone.

And, in its lower and secondary sense, since *all* the Apostles are *equally* declared to be the twelve foundations of the Church: it is difficult to comprehend, how Peter could be a foundation

so preëminently above his brethren as to deserve and to obtain this marked and very peculiar notice. Rev. xxi. 14.

2. With respect to the *second* of the three interpretations, when it is soundly understood and received, it is doubtless unobjectionable.

But its inherent fault is a want of *definiteness* and *precision*, which might sanction the most unbounded latitudinarianism.

*Christ himself*, say those great and orthodox divines Athanasius and Jerome and Augustine, *is* THE ROCK.

Doubtless he is, according to *their* estimation of the Lord's personal character. But shall we say, that he is *equally* so, according to estimations of a totally different description?

That *Christ is* THE ROCK *upon which the Church is built*, both the Arian and the Socinian, if I mistake not, will be equally ready to profess. But their profession will not, *therefore*, be the profession of Athanasius and Jerome and Augustine.

Now a declaration, which, from its indefiniteness, may be understood in three several senses: namely, that *Christ, true God and true man, is* THE ROCK; or that *Christ, the highest and first of all created beings, is* THE ROCK; or that *Christ, a mere man empowered of God to found a new religious community upon earth, is* THE ROCK: this declaration, thus palpably capable of misapprehension or perversion, can scarcely be the fixed basis, the *immobile saxum*, upon which our Lord promised to build his Church so securely that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. Such a foundation, thus left undefined and therefore variable, instead of being a solid rock, seems rather to resemble the ever shifting sand of the desert.

3. The *third* only of the three interpretations now remains: and, on every account, I apprehend, it is greatly and decidedly to be preferred.

As it possesses the authority of being the oldest interpretation upon record: so, inherently, it is the best.

According to the venerable Justin, who was instituted in the Gospel only about thirty years after the death of St. John, THE



ROCK is Peter's memorable and inspired Confession, THOU ART THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD.

(1.) To this Confession we are immediately led by the general context.

Simon receives a blessing for making it: and then says our Lord; *Thou art Peter, and upon THIS ROCK I will build my Church.* The Apostle makes a remarkable Confession: and, from the circumstance of his making this Confession, he commemoratively receives the new name of THE ROCK. What, then, can be THE ROCK, which gave occasion to the commemorative name, save the Confession itself? As Justin well and briefly states the matter: *Upon one of his disciples, who was previously called Simon, Christ bestowed the surname of Peter; inasmuch as, through the revelation of his Father, he acknowledged him to be THE CHRIST THE SON OF GOD.*

(2.) While we are led to Peter's Confession by the general context, the Confession itself possesses that very *definiteness* and *precision* which the mere unexplained name of our Lord necessarily wants.

THE ROCK, upon which the Saviour will build his Church, is not simply *The Christ, viewed under whatever aspect this or that religionist may choose to view him*: but THE ROCK is *The Christ, as confessed by Peter*; that is to say, THE ROCK is *The Messiah, viewed in the single and well-defined character of THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD.*

II. According, then, to the most ancient and in every respect the best interpretation, Christ builds not his Church even upon himself *indefinitely*.

The opinion, which ought to be formed of his personal character he leaves not *unspecified*, as if it were a matter of indifference, and as if the naked acknowledgment of his Messiahship were itself sufficient: so that his Church were equally secure and equally well founded, whatever doctrine she might receive and teach respecting his essential nature. But he professes to build that Church *only upon the Messiah, viewed as THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD.*

Let the Church be founded upon THIS ROCK of Peter's inspired Confession; a Confession so vitally important, that, in perpetual memory of it, the Apostle received the additional name of *Peter*: and the promise runs; that the gates of hell, or rather the gates of Hades (that is to say, utter and entire destruction from off the face of this visible earth), shall not prevail against it.

But, if the Church be founded upon any other than THE ROCK of Peter's Confession; that is to say, if the Church be *not* founded upon *the Messiah, definitely viewed and acknowledged as THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD*: then, to the Church *thus* founded (supposing it *possible* for the true Church Catholic to be *otherwise* founded than its founder himself intended), the promise of invincibility and perpetuity were inapplicable.

III. Such being the case, it must needs be a matter of deep import distinctly to ascertain the idea, conveyed by the phrase THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD: and, for this purpose, since revealed truth must ever be the most ancient while a departure from that truth cannot but (by the very terms of the proposition) be more modern, our wisdom will be to resort to the exposition of the primitive Church. For, since so much depends upon a right understanding of the phrase, we can scarcely suppose that the inspired Apostles would have left the Church in ignorance of its true meaning.

Now, in the early Church, as far back as we can trace, the ascription of the title of THE SON OF GOD was deemed the same as an ascription of ESSENTIAL DIVINITY.

Whence it was maintained: that, *Whenever, by the inspired writers, Christ is styled THE SON OF GOD; he is himself, by those writers, declared to be VERY AND ESSENTIAL GOD.*

The FACT is important: and it ought not to be alleged without full substantiation. Let us, then, attend to the evidence, by which it is supported.

1. When, at the martyrdom of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, in the year 147, the scorched remains of the holy man were refused to his Smyrnæans, for decent burial, on the plea;

that, *Leaving the crucified one, they would begin to worship their deceased Bishop*: the imputation was indignantly rejected; while, on the specific ground of his being THE SON OF GOD, their acknowledged worship of Christ was vindicated.

*Him truly, said they, inasmuch as he is THE SON OF GOD, we adore.*

Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ, Υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ, προσκυνοῦμεν. Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. § xvii.

Now the primitive Christians rejected all religious adoration as idolatrous, save only that of the one true God whom they worshipped as subsisting in three persons.

Therefore, when the Smyrnèans, in avowed contradistinction to their mere *love* of the Saints, openly declared their *adoration* of Christ, *inasmuch as* he is THE SON OF GOD: they plainly declared also their full belief, inculcated no doubt upon them by their late apostolically instructed pastor; that *the ascription of that title is nothing less, than an ascription of PROPER AND ESSENTIAL DIVINITY.*

2. The same remark applies to the prayer of Polycarp's venerable fellow-disciple Ignatius: who suffered martyrdom, either in the year 107, or (as some think) in the year 116.

*Kneeling down, with all the brethren, we are told, he prayed, to THE SON OF GOD, on behalf of the Churches.*

Ὅτῳ, μετὰ γονυκλισίας πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν, παρακάλεσας τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Martyr. S. Ignat. § vi.

3. So, again, we are led to a similar conclusion, by the language of the very ancient author of the Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas.

*When Christ, says he, chose his Apostles who were about to preach his Gospel: then he manifested himself to be THE SON OF GOD.*

But how did he thus manifest himself?

The author goes on to tell us: that *The manifestation of THE SON OF GOD was no other than the incarnation of the glorious Creator of that less glorious sun; the beams of which, nevertheless, frail man is unable to gaze upon.*



“Ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους, τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ἐξελέξατο,—τότε ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, πῶς ἂν ἐσώθημεν ἄνθρωποι, βλέποντες αὐτόν; “Ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἔργον χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, βλέποντες, οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀνοφθαλμῆσαι. Barnab. Epist. Cathol. § v.

4. The same association of ESSENTIAL DEITY with the title of THE SON OF GOD we may notice also in the writings of Justin.

*Christ, says he, præexisted: inasmuch as he is God, THE SON OF THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS.*

Προϋπήρχεν, Υἱὸς τοῦ Ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ὢν. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 207.

And again: *Inasmuch as we have him written, in the Acts of his Apostles, THE SON OF GOD; and inasmuch as we call him THE SON: we perceive, that he exists also before all created things.*

Υἱὸν Θεοῦ γεγραμμένον αὐτόν ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες, καὶ Υἱὸν αὐτόν λέγοντες, νενοήκαμεν ὄντα καὶ πρὸ πάντων τῶν ποιημάτων. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 255.

It may be proper to remark: that this second statement of Justin immediately follows that very ancient interpretation of THE ROCK which he has so happily preserved.

5. We find the same idea still prevalent in the Work of Novatian on the Trinity.

*Christ, says he, wishes to be deemed GOD in his character of THE SON OF GOD, not to be mistaken for the Father himself.*

Deum se sic intelligi vult; ut Filium Dei, et non ipsum, vellet, Patrem, intelligi. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 621.

6. Finally, to descend still lower, this idea is stated with the most perfect distinctness by Cyril of Alexandria.

Julian had alleged: that *Neither Paul nor Matthen nor Luke nor Mark had ever dared to call Jesus GOD, but only John the latest of the Apostolic Writers; and even he was induced to do so, merely because a great multitude, both in the Grecian*

and in the Italian Cities, had been infected with the humour of deifying and worshipping the deceased.

(1.) In his reply, Cyril first sets himself to prove, that *Paul directly called Jesus GOD*: employing, as his mean of demonstration, the text, in which the Apostle styles him **GOD OVER ALL BLESSED FOR EVER.**

(2.) And then, with respect to the three earlier Evangelists, he states, as the Church had always taught before him: that, *In calling Christ THE SON OF GOD, they ascribed to him PROPER AND ESSENTIAL DIVINITY.*

Καίπερ εἰδόσιν ὡς ἔστι Θεὸς κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀληθῶς, Υἱὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν Θεοῦ.—'Αλλ' οὐδὲ πρῶτος ἔφη Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγραφότες, Λουκᾶς τε φημί, καὶ Ματθαῖος, καὶ μὲν τοι καὶ Μάρκος, Κύριον δὲ καὶ Θεὸν ὀνόμαζον αὐτὸν, τὴν ὑπερτάτην δόξαν ἀπονέμοντες πανταχοῦ. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 328, 331.

IV. The scriptural authority, on which the primitive Church held the title of **THE SON OF GOD** to be perfectly equivalent to the title of **GOD**, was the recorded address of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary.

*The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee: and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. THEREFORE also that Holy Thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called THE SON OF GOD.* Luke i. 35.

In this passage, **THE REASON**, why Christ is called **THE SON OF GOD**, is distinctly stated to be *the illapse of the Holy Spirit and the obumbration of the Power of the Highest.*

Such a circumstance caused the offspring of the Virgin to be at once **THE SON OF GOD** and the son of man: **GOD**, as the Church rightly interpreted and defined, *of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world.*

Hence the ground and principle, on which the primitive Church judged the ascription of the title of **THE SON OF GOD** to be equivalent to an ascription of **PROPER AND ESSENTIAL DIVINITY**, is very clear and satisfactory.

In the mutual heavenly relationship of the two first persons of the Trinity, there must be some analogy to the mutual earthly relationship of *father* and *son*: otherwise, the relative terms, *Father* and *Son*, we may be sure, would never have been adopted. For, without the actual existence of some analogy, the use of such terms could only serve to mislead.

Now, in the case of mutual earthly relationship, a father and a son are beings or persons of one and the same essential nature: and the rule holds equally good in all beings of an inferior order, which severally bear to each other the relationship of *parent* and *offspring*.

Therefore, both from the whole analogy of nature, and from the very necessity of language founded upon that analogy, when Christ the Word is said to be the *Son* of God, and when consequently God is said to be the *Father* of that Son, the clear result is: that *The Father and the Son must be persons of one and the same essential nature*, or that *The substance of the Son must be identical with the substance of the Father*: in other words, that, *As the Father of the Son is confessedly very God, so the Son of the Father is inevitably very God likewise*; God the Father, as his actual name imports, being (as the early theologians were wont to speak) *Αὐτόθεος*, or *God of himself*, while God the Son, as his actual name equally imports, is *Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ* or *God from God*.

1. Thus, accordingly, reasoned Cyril of Alexandria, in the passage to which I have already referred.

*It was a special point, says he, with the inspired theologians, although they knew that Christ is God physically and truly, yet to call him THE SON OF GOD, even the genuine offspring of the substance of him who begat him: inasmuch as he is eternally present and coëxistent with him who begat him, and is known to subsist in the one nature of the Godhead.—Wisely, therefore, was it made a point, with the inspired theologians, to say: that He is physically THE SON OF GOD. For, in such phraseology, the doctrine is altogether inherent: that HE, WHO IS PHYSICALLY FROM GOD, IS HIMSELF TRULY GOD.*



Καί τοι σπουδὴ ἢ σκοπὸς τοῖς θεηγόροις ἦν, καίπερ εἰδύσιν ὡς ἔστι Θεὸς κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀληθῶς, Υἱὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ τεκόντος οὐσίας γνήσιον γέννημα, ὡς ἀεὶ συνόντα καὶ συνυπάρχοντα τῷ γεννήσαντι, καὶ ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῆς θεότητος φύσει νοούμενον ὄντα καὶ ἐνυπόστατον.—Εἰς οὖν ἄρα καὶ οὐκ ἄσοφός γε τοῖς θεηγόροις ὁ σκοπὸς, τὸ χρῆναι λέγειν, Υἱὸν εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν Θεοῦ· ὡς ἔν γε δὴ τούτῳ πάντῃ τε καὶ πάντως ἐνὸν τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι κατ' ἀλήθειαν τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ κατὰ φύσιν. Cyril. Alex. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 328, 329.

2. The reasoning, however, of Cyril, in the fifth century, was no novelty: it had long before been employed by Irenæus, who received his theology from St. John through the single intervening link of his master Polycarp.

*The Word, says he, was God, by a necessary consequence.*  
FOR THAT WHICH IS BEGOTTEN FROM GOD IS GOD.

Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ἀκολουθῶς· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεννηθὲν, Θεός ἐστιν. Iren. adv. hæ. lib. i. c. 1. p. 30.

3. To the same purpose also argues Tertullian.

*Jesus was man, from the flesh: God, from the spirit. On that part where he was spirit, the angel pronounced him THE SON OF GOD: reserving for the flesh his other title of The son of man. Thus also the Apostle, when he calls him The Mediator of God and men, has determined him to be a partaker of EACH SUBSTANCE.*

Jesus constitit, ex carne homo, ex spiritu Deus: quem tunc angelus, ex ea parte qua spiritus erat, *Dei Filium* pronunciavit; servans carni, *filium hominis* dici. Sic et apostolus etiam, *Dei et hominum* appellans *sequestrem*, utriusque substantiæ confirmavit. Tertull. adv. Prax. § 17. Oper. p. 428.

*We say: that Christ is generated by prolation from God; and, therefore, that, FROM THE UNITY OF THE SUBSTANCE, HE IS CALLED THE SON AND GOD.*

Hunc ex Deo prolatum dicimus, et prolatione generatum: et, idcirco, *Filium* et *Deum* dictum ex unitate substantiæ. Tertull. Apol. adv. Gent. Oper. p. 850.

4. Thus likewise argues Clement of Alexandria.

*The Lord is the Divine Word, THE MOST EVIDENTLY TRUE GOD, who is equalled to the Lord of all things: BECAUSE HE WAS HIS SON, and the Word was in God.*

Ὁ Κύριος, — ὁ θεῖος Λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος ὄντως Θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότη τῶν ὅλων ἐξισωθείς· ὅτι ἦν Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. Clem. Alex. Protreps. Oper. p. 68.

5. In like manner reasons Athenagoras.

*If you wish to learn, what THE SON means: in few words, I will tell you. He is the first offspring of the Father, but not as any thing created: for God is from the beginning; and, being an eternal mind, he himself had within himself the Word, being eternally comprehensive of the Word.—We declare God the Father, and THE SON GOD, and the Holy Ghost.*

Εἰ σκοπεῖν ὑμῖν ἐπεισιν, ὁ Παῖς τὶ βούλεται, ἐρῶ διὰ βραχέων· πρῶτον γέννημα εἶναι τῷ Πατρὶ, οὐχ ὡς γενόμενον· ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁ Θεός, νοῦς ἀίδιος ὢν, εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Λόγον, αἰδίως λογικὸς ὢν.—Λέγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. Athen. Legat. § x. p. 38—40.

6. The same argument is prosecuted by Novatian.

*As nature itself has prescribed; that He, who is born from a man, must be believed to be a man: so the same nature equally prescribes; that HE WHO IS BORN FROM GOD MUST BE BELIEVED TO BE GOD.*

Ut enim præscripsit ipsa natura, hominem credendum esse qui ex homine sit: ita eadem natura præscribit, et Deum credendum esse qui ex Deo sit. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 606.

*The Holy Spirit, says the angel, shall come upon thee: and the Virtue of the Most High shall overshadow thee. Therefore that Holy Thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called THE SON OF GOD.—HE, WHO IS FROM GOD HIMSELF, IS THE LEGITIMATE SON OF GOD.*

Spiritus sanctus veniet in te: et Virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Propterea, et quod ex te nascetur Sanctum vocabitur *Filius Dei*.—Hic est enim legitimus Dei Filius, qui ex ipso Deo est. Novat. de Trin. in Oper. Tertull. p. 614, 615.

7. To the same purpose, again, reasons Dionysius of Alexandria.

*The one undivided Christ, him who is coëternal and coïncommencing and concreative with the Father, he calls THE SON : for Jesus, who is the Word before all worlds, is THE GOD OF ISRAEL ; as is also the Holy Ghost.*

Υἰὸν δὲ λέγει, ὃν προσκυνεῖ ἡ τῶν ἄνω ἁγίων πνευμάτων πληθὺς, τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀμέριστον Χριστὸν, τὸν συναΐδιον τοῦ Πατρὸς, συνάναρχον, συνδημιουργὸν τῷ Πατρί· Θεὸς γὰρ Ἰσραὴλ Ἰησοῦς ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Λόγος, ὡς καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Dionys. Alex. Quæst. adv. Paul. Samos. Oper. p. 244.

8. Such also is the argument of Lactantius.

*Christ was made THE SON OF GOD through the spirit, and the son of man through the flesh : that is, both GOD and man.*

Factus est et Dei Filius per spiritum, et hominis per carnem : id est, et Deus et homo. Lactant. Instit. lib. iv. c. 13. p. 388.

9. On this and other similar passages, it may be useful to remark : that the ancients used the term *spirit*, as opposed to the term *flesh*, for the purpose of setting forth, not the Holy Spirit or the third person of the Trinity *particularly*, but the divine nature or essence *generally*.

Such phraseology is as old as the apostolic times of Clement of Rome : and it was borrowed, apparently, from that passage of Holy Writ, wherein Peter speaks of our Lord, during the intermediate time between his crucifixion and his resurrection, as being dead in *the flesh* or in *his human nature*, but as being alive in *the spirit* or in *his divine nature*.

Ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος, ὁ σώσας ἡμᾶς, ὡν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα, ἐγένετο σὰρξ. Clem. Rom. Epist. ii. § 9.

Θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι. 1 Pet. iii. 18. Vide etiam 1 Tim. iii. 16. Ἐφανέρωθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι.

V. To this ancient argument of the Church it might be objected : that *We are ALL styled THE SONS OF GOD ; and that God is spoken of, as THE UNIVERSAL FATHER of mankind.* Whence, if the ascription of the title of THE SON OF GOD to Christ be the



same, as an ascription of ESSENTIAL DIVINITY to Christ: the ascription of the general title of SONS OF GOD to all mankind will be the same, as an ascription of ESSENTIAL DIVINITY to all mankind.

1. For such an objection, the early theologians were far too well acquainted with Holy Scripture to be unprepared.

They perceived: that Christ is styled, Ο ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΥΙΟΣ ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς, THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON *who is in the bosom of the Father.* John i. 18.

Now this title, THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON, would involve a falsehood: if the other title, THE SON OF GOD, when ascribed to Christ, were interpreted in the same sense, as the title, THE SONS OF GOD, is interpreted, when ascribed in common to all mankind. For, if *Christ* be THE SON OF GOD merely in the same sense, that we are *all* SONS OF GOD: he could not accurately have been denominated THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON.

Therefore, since Christ is styled, in plain and necessary contradistinction to the whole human race, THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON: his title of THE SON OF GOD, agreeably to the *reason* assigned by the angel Gabriel for its ascription to him who in his human nature was the son of Mary, must be understood conformably.

In other words, we must believe him to be called THE SON OF GOD *properly* and *essentially* and *generatively*: while men collectively are called THE SONS OF GOD, *catachrestically* and *non-essentially* and *creatively*.

Οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴν Υἱὸς Θεοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς λέγεται καὶ Θεός, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Υἱὸς Θεοῦ λέγεται καὶ Θεός ἂν εἶη (ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶπα, Θεοὶ ἐστέ, φησι, καὶ Υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου πάντες)· φιλονεικήσεις Τῷ ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΥΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ, καὶ οὐδὲν φήσεις αὐτὸν ἔχειν κατὰ τοῦτο σοῦ πλέον; Chrysost. Homil. iii. in Johan. i. 1.

2. Of this distinction, between the *proper* and the *catachrestic* use of the title, the Jews, in our Saviour's time, were evidently well aware. For, otherwise, they would never have said: that, *According to their Law, Christ ought to die, BECAUSE he made himself the SON OF GOD.* John xix. 7.

Had *he* claimed to be a son of God merely as *every* Jew claimed to be such (Hos. i. 10. John viii. 41, 42.): they would never have alleged the gross absurdity; that, on *that* account, he ought to be put to death as a blasphemer.

So likewise, on another occasion, where we find the phraseological terms of relationship inverted, the Jews sought to kill our Lord, BECAUSE he said, that GOD IS HIS FATHER.

Now, had *he* claimed God to be his father simply as *every* Jew preferred the same claim: they could never, with any shew of decency or even of common sense, have identified such a claim with the palpable blasphemy of arrogating *an equality to God*. John v. 18.

Clearly, on each occasion alike, they were well aware of the distinction between the *proper* use and the *catachrestic* use of such phraseology: and, perceiving what our Lord never denied, that he employed it *properly* and not *catachrestically*, they thence charged him with an assumption of ESSENTIAL DIVINITY; which assumption, in the case of a mere man, would doubtless have been horrid blasphemy.

3. Accordingly, as the very basis of the doctrine that *The ascription of the title of THE SON OF GOD to Christ is the same as an ascription of ESSENTIAL DIVINITY to him*, this is the precise distinction which was set forth by Justin Martyr only about some forty years after the death of St. John: and he is even verbally followed by Origen, who flourished about a century later.

Christ is declared to be ALONE *properly* THE SON OF GOD: while all other men, on the bare *catachrestical* ground that *God is the common father of the whole human race*, are pronounced to be nothing more than THE SONS OF GOD *commonly*.

Υἱὸς δὲ Θεοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ ΚΟΙΝΩΣ μόνον ἀνθρώπος, διὰ σοφίαν ἄξιος Υἱὸς Θεοῦ λέγεσθαι· πατέρα γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε πάντες συγγραφεῖς τὸν Θεὸν καλοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἸΔΙΩΣ παρὰ τὴν ΚΟΙΝΗΝ γένεσιν γεγεννησθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ λέγομεν Λόγον Θεοῦ, ὡς προέφημεν, κοινὸν τοῦτο ἔστω ὑμῖν τοῖς

τὸν Ἑρμῆν λόγον τὸν παρὰ Θεοῦ ἀγγελτικὸν λέγουσιν. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 52.

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μόνος ΙΔΙΩΣ Υἱὸς τῷ Θεῷ γεγέννηται, Λόγος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων καὶ Πρωτότοκος καὶ Δύναμις. Justin. Apol. i. Oper. p. 53.

ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ γὰρ ὅτι ἦν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων οὗτος, ΙΔΙΩΣ ἔξ αὐτοῦ Λόγος καὶ Δύναμις γεγεννημένος. Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. Oper. p. 260.

Ἦν ὁ ΚΥΡΙΩΣ Υἱὸς Θεοῦ, Θεὸς Λόγος, καὶ Δύναμις, καὶ Θεοῦ Σοφία, ὁ καλούμενος Χριστός. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 52.

UNIGENITUS Filius salvator noster, qui SOLUS ex Patre natus est, SOLUS, *natura* et non *adoptione*, Filius est. Unus ergo verus Deus solus habet immortalitatem, lucem habitat inaccessibilem. *Unus*, ait, *verus Deus*: ne, scilicet, multis veri Dei nomen convenire credamus. Ita ergo et hi, qui accipiunt spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamant, *Abba Pater*, filii quidem Dei sunt: *sed non sicut UNIGENITUS Filius*. UNIGENITUS enim *natura* Filius, et *semper* et *inseparabiliter*, Filius est. Cæteri vero, pro eo quod susceperunt in se Filium Dei, potestatem acceperunt filii Dei fieri: qui, licet non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis neque ex voluntate viri sed ex Deo nati sunt, *non tamen ea nativitate sunt nati, qua natus est UNIGENITUS FILIUS*. Orig. Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. lib. i. apud Euseb. Pamphil. Apol. pro Orig. in Oper. Hieron. vol. ix. p. 122.

4. The Editor of *The New Testament in an Improved Version*, as that recent translation is called by him, when commenting on John i. 14, vainly labours to escape the difficulty, occasioned by the palpably contradistinctive epithet ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ or ONLY-BEGOTTEN.

(1.) Respecting his painful attempt to explain away the meaning of the word, it is quite enough to say: that *His perfectly arbitrary and dogmatically gratuitous view of the term differs, toto cælo, from the view which was taken of it by the primitive Church*.



That Church understood Christ to be called THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF THE FATHER: because he ALONE, being born from God (*παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν γένεσιν*) *differently from the ordinary course of production*, is properly (*ιδίως* or *κυρίως*) THE SON OF GOD; so that *no other* individual is a son of God in the sense wherein *Christ* is THE SON OF GOD, though *all* may *cataphoretically* bear the name (*κοινῶς*) *in common*.

(2.) In truth, unless this primitive exposition be received, the whole New Testament is a riddle and a paradox.

The belief, that JESUS CHRIST IS THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD, is described, as the very corner-stone of the Gospel, as the very rock upon which the Church is founded.

Now, if nothing more be meant by the phrase, than that *Christ is the Son of God, just as all men in common are sons of God, or somewhat more specially as all pious Christians are made sons of God by adoption*: it is incomprehensible, how the whole sum and substance of the Gospel, and how the entire solidity and security of the Church, could be contained in, and could rest upon, such a thoroughly vague and indeterminate and insignificant acknowledgment.

VI. We may now, according to the judgment of the primitive Church, clearly see the reason: why THE MESSIAH IN THE SPECIFIC CHARACTER OF THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD is declared by our Lord to be THE ROCK, upon which he would so build his Church that the gates of Hades should never prevail against it.

He founded it upon the doctrine of THE MESSIAH'S PROPER AND ESSENTIAL DIVINITY: he founded it upon the doctrine of THE MESSIAH'S BEING SO GOD AS THE SON, NOT SO GOD AS THE FATHER: he founded it, in short, upon the doctrine, as St. Paul spake, of THE SON'S BEING THE REFULGENCE FROM THE GLORY OF GOD THE FATHER AND THE VERY IMPRESS OF HIS SUBSTANCE.

Such is THE ROCK, upon which is built the true Church of Christ: and, since that Church, whatever may have been her faults in other respects, has never, in the worst of times, fallen off from this sure basis; the promise of her Divine Founder has, on his part, been most faithfully performed.

Secure under the protection of her acknowledged and worshipped incarnate God, even GOD THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON OF THE LIVING GOD, the gates of Hades have never prevailed against her.

Through a long series of ages, she has been troubled indeed on every side, yet not distressed : persecuted, yet not forsaken : cast down, yet not destroyed.

Her vital principle of eternity is THE ETERNAL GODHEAD OF HER FOUNDER.

The perpetually shifting Empires of this transitory world may fade or may flourish. Persia may succeed to Babylon : Macedon may overthrow Persia : Rome may subjugate Macedon : and Teutonic Valour may hew in pieces the mighty Kingdom of the Cesars. However they may successively have been instruments in the hand of God, and however *their* purposes may have been overruled to the furtherance of *his* purposes, still human policy has raised them up : and human policy may pull them down.

But, so long as the Church of Christ, *the pillar and ground of the truth*, is built upon THE ROCK of Peter's inspired confession (and, upon THAT ROCK, in one or other faithful portion of her universality, she will never cease to be built) : she is incapable of utter destruction. Thus founded, the gates of Hades shall never prevail against her.

END OF VOL. II.

LONDON:  
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,  
St. John's Square.











